



All great poetry is the quest after the sublime, the Beautiful the one Absolute Truth - सर्वं शिवं ब्रह्म - a play at hide & seek in which this mystic poet finds himself in a willo the wisp. Chase as it were.

In aspiring to the throne of power, the angels transgressed and fell; in presuming to come within the oracle of knowledge, man transgressed and fell; but in the pursuit toward the similitude of God's goodness & love, neither man nor spirit ever have transgressed or shall transgress.

The philosopher may talk analytically for a theme about immortality, but a stanza from Wordsworth or a myth of Plato may place us in the near presence of the beautiful thing itself. The unique and individual flavour which distinguishes reality from its shadow may very well turn out to be found among those comparatively phantom objects known as works of art. The intuition of the poet is a surer revelation of reality than the analysis of the metaphysician. Croce insists that the whole function of an artist is subsumed under the word 'intuition' - Ivin Edman.

Metaphor + simile are the poet's rebellion against routine impressions.

In dramatic force, Bhasa can be compared to Shakespeare or the Greek Tragedians; in psychological subtlety, he is almost modern; his simplicity of expression puts him in a different plane than Kalidasa and his followers - Meerwarth.

Bhasa's dramas - A critical
Santayana remarks that a poet is a goldsmith in words.

Study.

One of the glories of literature is the childlike freshness of sensuous impressions which the poet renders into his work.

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व्यामोहाय जराचरस्य जगतस्ते ते पुराणागमाः

नां तामेव हि देवतां परामिकां जस्यन्तु कल्पावधिः

सिद्धान्तं पुनरेकं जव भगवान् विष्णुः समस्तागम

व्यापारेषु विवेचनव्यातिकरं नीतेषु निश्चीयते ॥

विष्णुपुराण-I. 22-84 Poetry, all literary creations, as also music are but aspects of the Lord in His form as Sound.

देवी स्वास्ति रसं नः । स्वास्ति मनुषेभ्यः ।

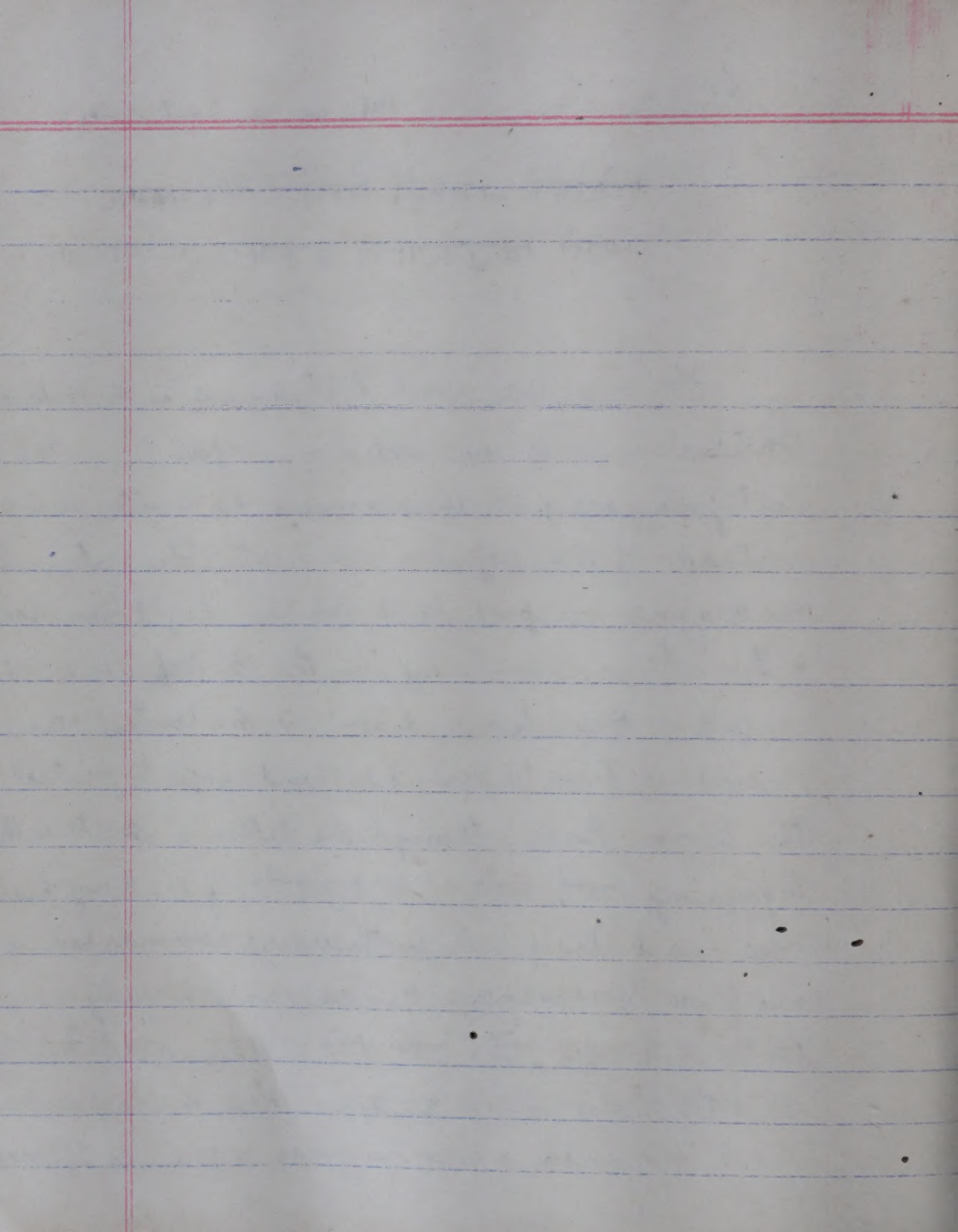
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Chapter 1 - Was Bhāsa a Southerner?

गणेश्वरं नमस्कुर्ये सिद्धिदायकस्तमम् ।
तमसां विद्युरूपाणां प्रलयः स्मृतिमात्रतः॥

Writing the word *Kātyāyanī* in the *Bālacand*
Bhāsa inserts an extra 'r' before 't'; in the
Pratijnāyangandharāyana he writes 'airāvan'
instead of the popular 'airāvata'. This naturally
makes one suspect that *Bhāsa* might have been
a Keraliya. Similarly in the *Bālacand* I act
(page 521, Devadhar's Edition) in the context where
Vasudeva tries to persuade *Nandagopa* to protect
the Divine Baby, though the latter protests in the
beginning (यदि कंसो राजा इहोति, if the King hears,
my head itself will go), *Vasudeva* reminds him of
his prior benefactions, *Nandagopa* gratefully replies:
किं किं प्रत्युपकार इति । यदि कंसो वा भवतु, तस्य पिताग्रसेनो
वा भवतु, आनयतु भर्ता दारकम्. Here the last sentence
'Let it be Kamsa, or even his father Ugrasena, I fear not,



I will have the child; this idiom is a peculiar Kannada or Tamil idiom, quite foreign to Hindi idiom. Though such usages are found in the Hindi of today, it is very clear that it must have been borrowed from Dravidian usages of the South. Continuing in this strain, the Karnaabhāra Nāndī exhibits the second letter ra alliterating in all the four lines:

नरभृगपतिवर्ष्मालोक नभ्रान्न नारी -

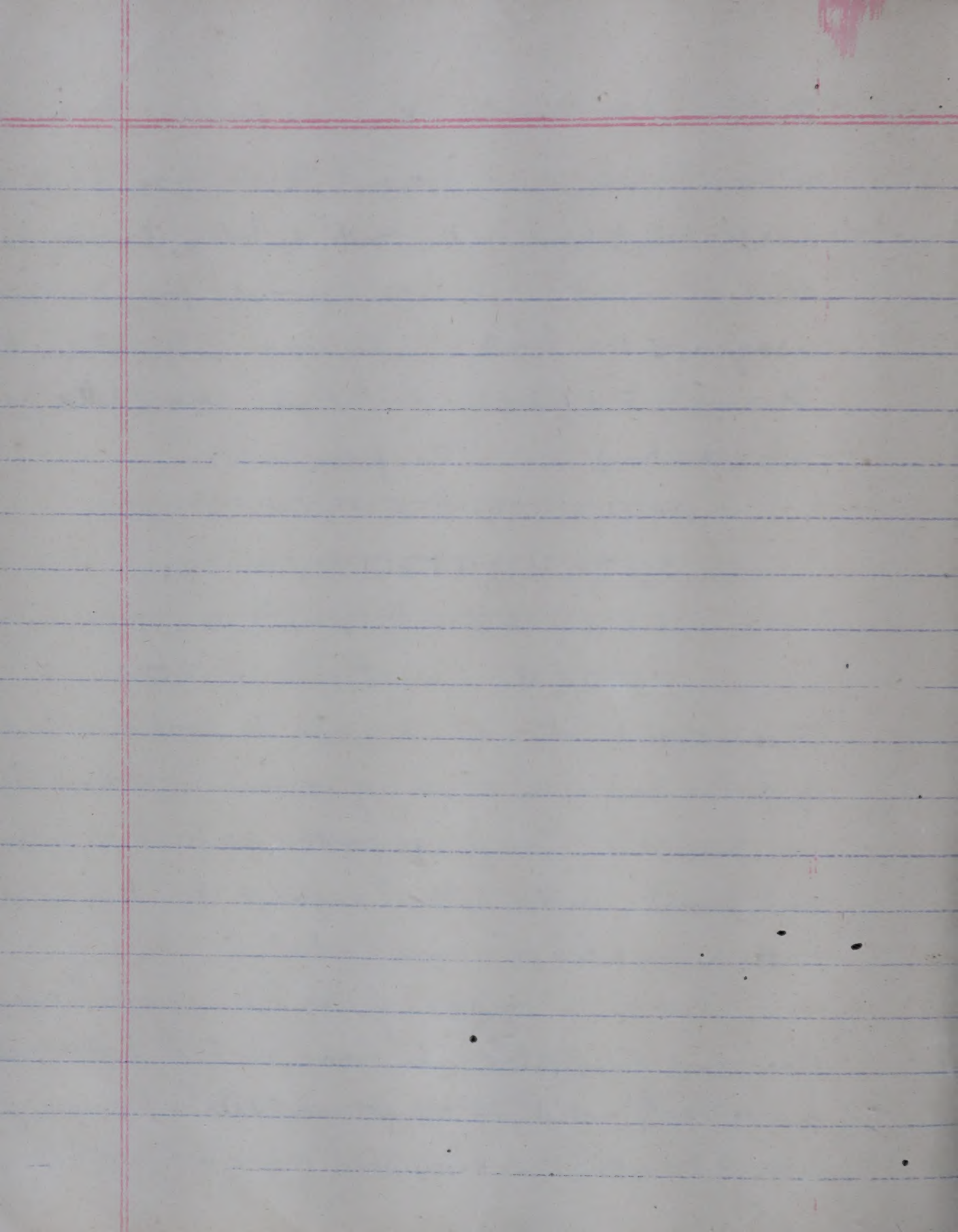
सुरदनुजस्तु पर्वत्रातपाताललोकः ।

करजकुलित्रापालीभिन्नदैत्येन्द्रवक्षाः

सुररिपुबलहन्ता श्रीधरोऽस्तु श्रियेव ॥

This second letter alliteration in each line is a popular and even necessary feature in almost all the Dravidian Language poetry, particularly in Kannada and Tamil; in the latter language, it is dignified with a particular name - 'eduhai'.

Further, Comparing the Bhāgavata Purāṇa story and the Bālacarita, some mutual differences have been noted. If the former calls Sri Kṛṣṇa eighth son of Devaki, the dramatist refers to him as the seventh



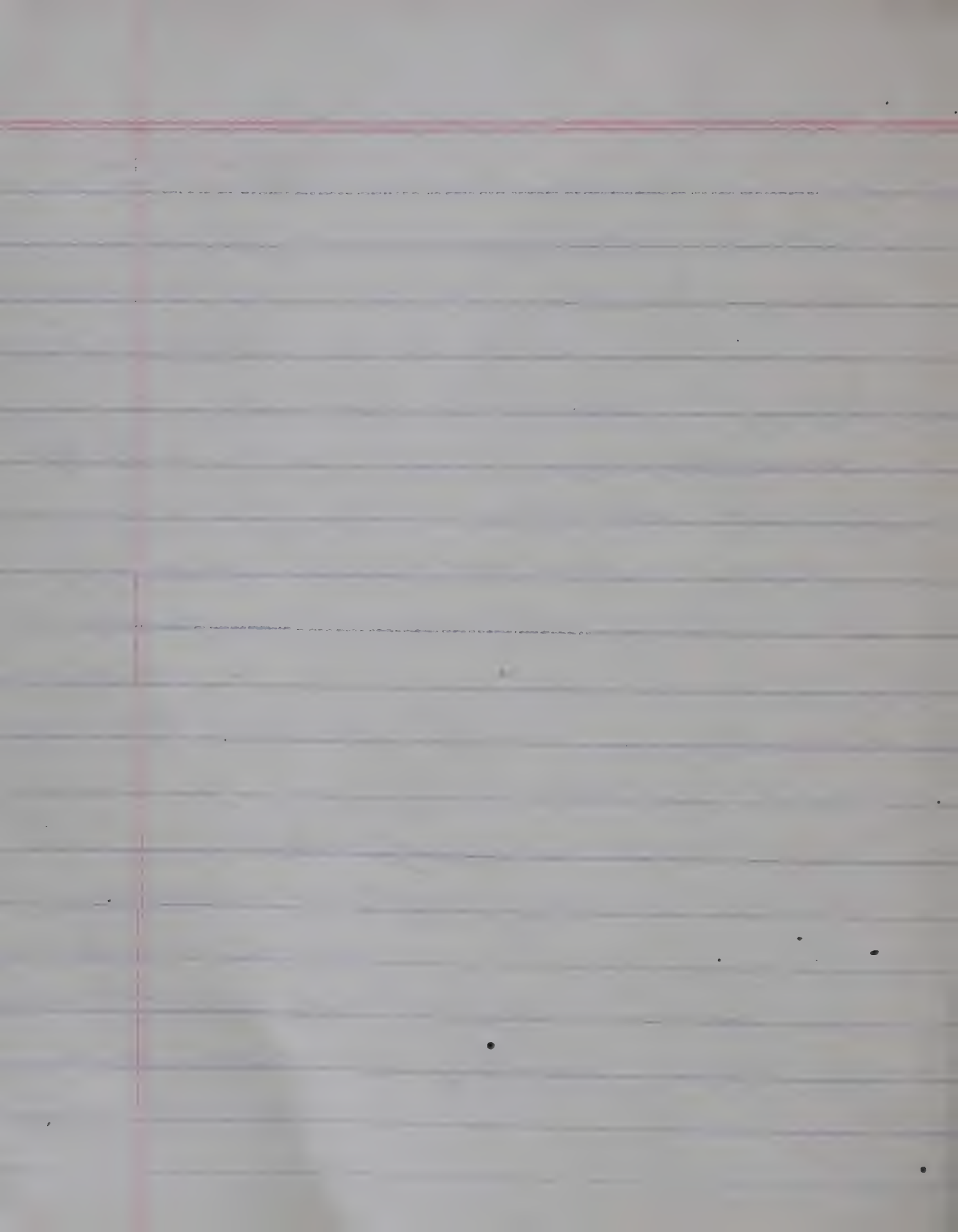
and the drama refers to the sage Madhuka's curse foretelling Kamsa's death while the other source refers to the heavenly voice foreboding his death. Such divergences agree particularly with the Jaina version of the story as preserved for example in *Karnapāya* Neminātha Purāṇa in Kannada published by the Madras University. Bhāsa's *Chārudatta* seems to have been amplified into Sūdraka's *Mrechakatika* by the addition of a political episode and the law court case. This Sūdraka seems to be identical with the Brahmin King Pusyamitra who became king after killing his Magadha master Brahadratha. The *Harivamśa* also refers to him similarly and the peculiar sloka in the *Prastāvanā* referring to his performing the *Asvamedha* and seeing his son crowned agrees admirably with this suggestion - राजानं वीर्यवृत्तं परमसमुदयेनाश्रमेष्टेन च इष्टम्. This Sūdraka refers to many South Indian tribes though not in a complimentary fashion; it might therefore be probable that the author of the smaller version might

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have some Connection with the South.

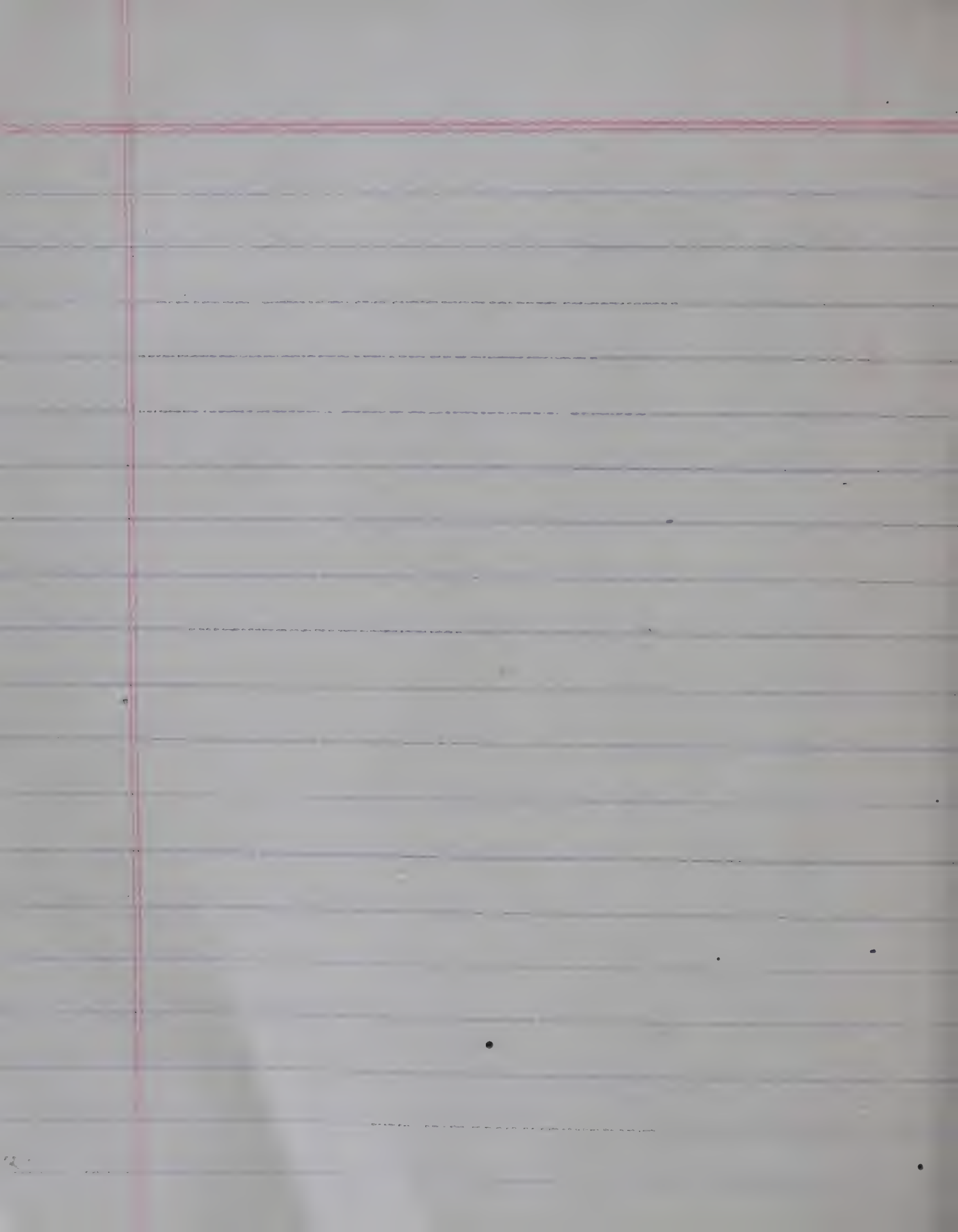
Four of the dramas of Bhāsa, the Avimāna Cārudatta, Pratijñāyauṅgandharāyana and Svapna-Vāsavadatta seem to be based on the Brhatkathā, the famous storehouse of legends, which is unfortunately lost for us now. The Piśācī dialect in which this story book seems to have been composed appears to have been Tamil and the book itself, for aught we know, might have been the 'Perumgadam'.

Taking all these into consideration, it appears probable that Bhāsa might have been a Southerner himself. But the fact that his descriptions of the South particularly in the Abhiseka do not reveal an intimate knowledge of South Indian Geography, might be better explained by his having lived entirely in the North under Puṣyamitra Śiṅga's patronage, even to the extent of completely forgetting his affiliations thereto.



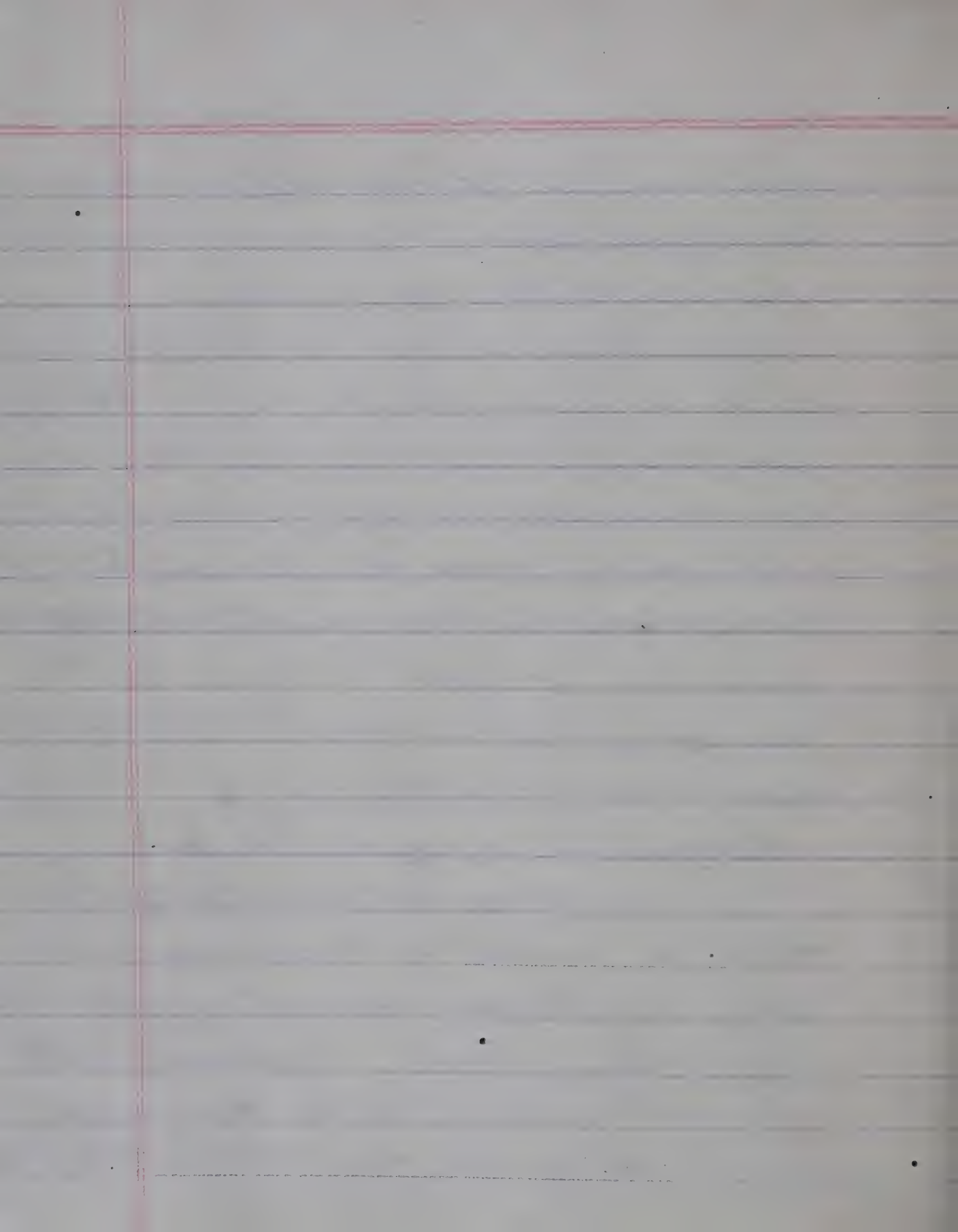
2nd chapter - The 13 dramas and their ancient usage

From 1912 to 1915, the world of scholars were very highly delighted by the periodic publication of these 13 dramas of Bhāsa, who was till then believed to have been completely lost beyond redemption. For about 10 or 15 years in the beginning, the enthusiasm about these dramas seemed to have swept away the doubts of ^{all but} a few sceptics like Dr Barnett in London or Bhaṭṭa nāthaswāmin in India, but after this enthusiasm died out, many scholars have begun to doubt their authenticity. Very often, a subdued optimism seems to reign now, since they suggest that these dramas might be the stage copies prepared by the Chākiyāns or dramatic troupes of Malabar who must be thanked for having preserved these vestiges of the famous dramatist praised by Kālidāsa and Bāṇa, which are however entirely lost for us. But the fact has remained that these very popular dramas have been translated into



all the Northern and Southern languages of India much more than that, into most of the languages of the European Continent like German, French, Italian, Norwegian etc. This naturally seems to strengthen suspicion that these dramas might really have been the same as those of the famous dramatist. A study of the peculiar and ancient idioms as preserved in these dramas and more particularly their affiliation with Tālmiki, Vidyāsa, Bharatamuni (the Indian dramaturgist) and other ancient poets prior to the Christian Era, is proposed to be done now on the assumption that the dramatist himself might have lived about 180 B.C. as a contemporary of Pusyamitra Śunga and Patanjali.

Of course the sloka स्तैरायुगं तद्धि न मैत्रिली सा quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinava Bhārati Commentary on Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra (edited in Gaekwad oriental series Vol II page 320) or the other famous sloka कपले मार्जारः पय इति करान् लेटि शङ्खिनः



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might not be found in these dramas, but they might be found in the dramas that might come to light at some future date. This apart, that Very Volume of Abhinavagupta's Commentary now referred to illustrates 'leśa' a literary quality on p 362 and quotes a passage from Arimāraka (though not giving Bhāsa's name) which is found word for word in the drama published from Trivandrum. The passage is: (= page 126, Devadatta)

केशो यथाविमारके द्वितीयैर्द्वे धात्री नायकमाह --

धात्री - आर्य, किं चिन्त्यते ?

अविमारकः , भवति, शास्त्रं चिन्त्यते.

धात्री - किं नामैतत् शास्त्रं चिन्त्यते ?

अवि - भवति, योगशास्त्रं चिन्त्यते .

धात्री -(सस्मितं) - प्रातिगृहीतं मङ्गलवचनम् । योग-
शास्त्रमेव भवतु ।

अवि - को नु वाक्यार्थः ? अयदणभिरुपवशात्
अन्यथा संभावयामि.

The passage bristles with humour as anybody can see and seems to refer to a Yogasūtra, perhaps Māheśvar's as referred to by Ravana in the

Pratimā. The same Abhinavagupta in that very foot
 while illustrating the literary merit called Prāsāda
 quotes another passage from Gadāyuddha which
 seems to have been the name by which Ūrubhanga
 in this series was known then :- प्रासिद्धिः प्रसाधकैः

प्रकृष्टसाधकैः पूर्वमेव । सिद्धिः यथा गदायुद्धे वलदेवः
 दुर्योधन मातु - भीमसेन इदानीं तव पुच्छवचनामुत्पाद्य
 स्थास्यति - दुर्योधनः - किं चाहं भीमसेनेन वञ्चितः ?

वलदेवः - अथ केन भवानेवं विधः कृतः ?

दुर्योधनः - श्रूयताम् ।

येनेन्द्रस्य स परिजातकतरुर्मनेन तुल्यं हतौ
 दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रमर्णवज्रैः सुप्रथमैः किरणैः
 दीप्त्या भीमगदां प्रविश्य सहसा निर्व्याजयुद्धप्रियः
 तेनाहं जगतां प्रियेण हरिणा मृत्योः प्रातिग्रहितः ।

This Gadāyuddha passage is found word for word
 in Bhāṣa's Ūrubhanga page 498 Śeṣadhya. In the
 third line, instead of दीप्त्या, we find तीक्ष्णं and in
 the fourth line जगताः the singular is found in
 place of the plural जगताम्. This may be quite

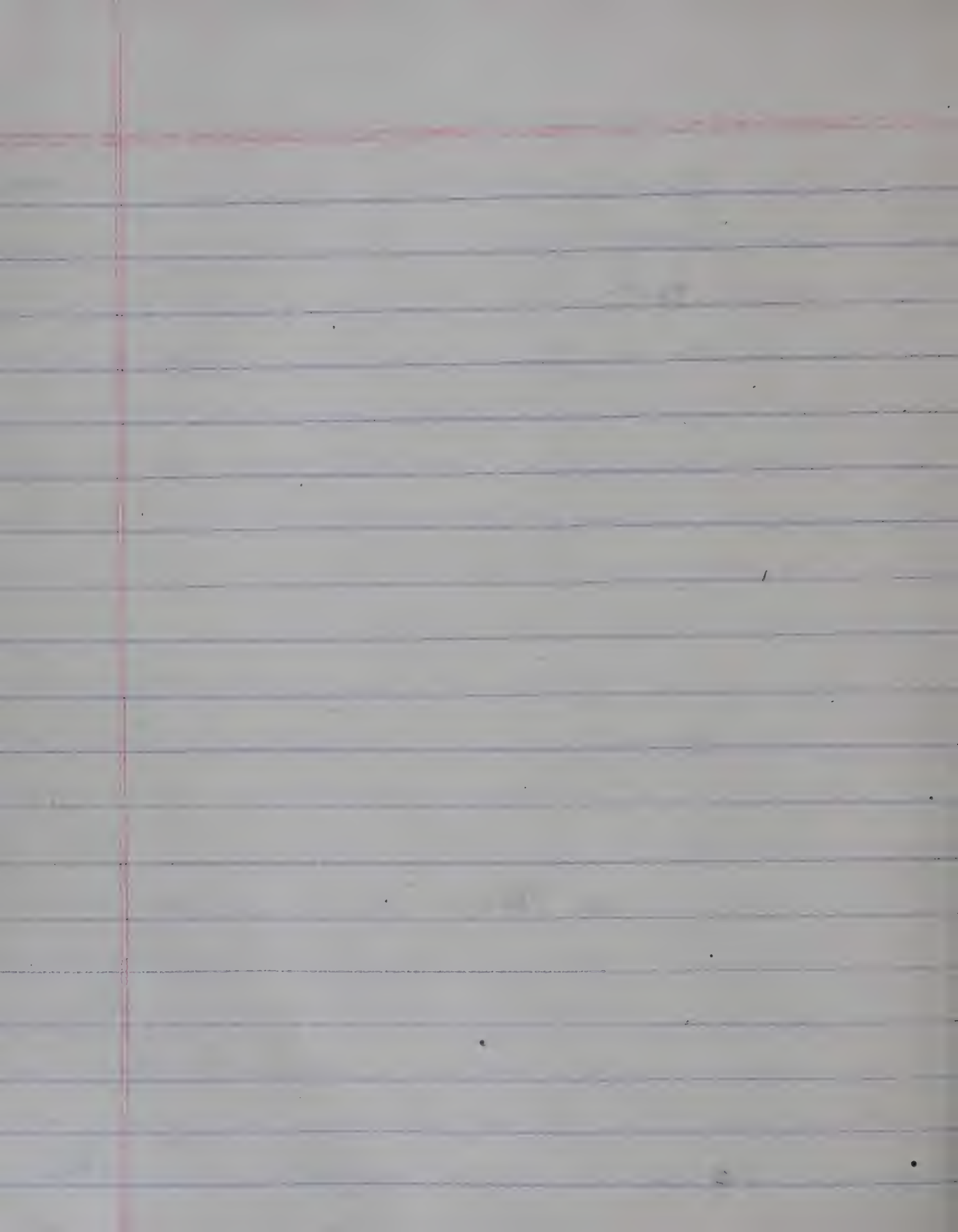
possible as a different reading. Perhaps the name Gadāyuddha was the more popular name and that name alone was accepted by a famous Kannada classic Jaina poet, Ranna in about the 10th cen. AD. Further on, this very Volume II of Abhinavagupta's Commentary on page 357 remarks - उपादिष्टं यथाविमर्शे

प्रथमेऽङ्के राजा - निम्नः

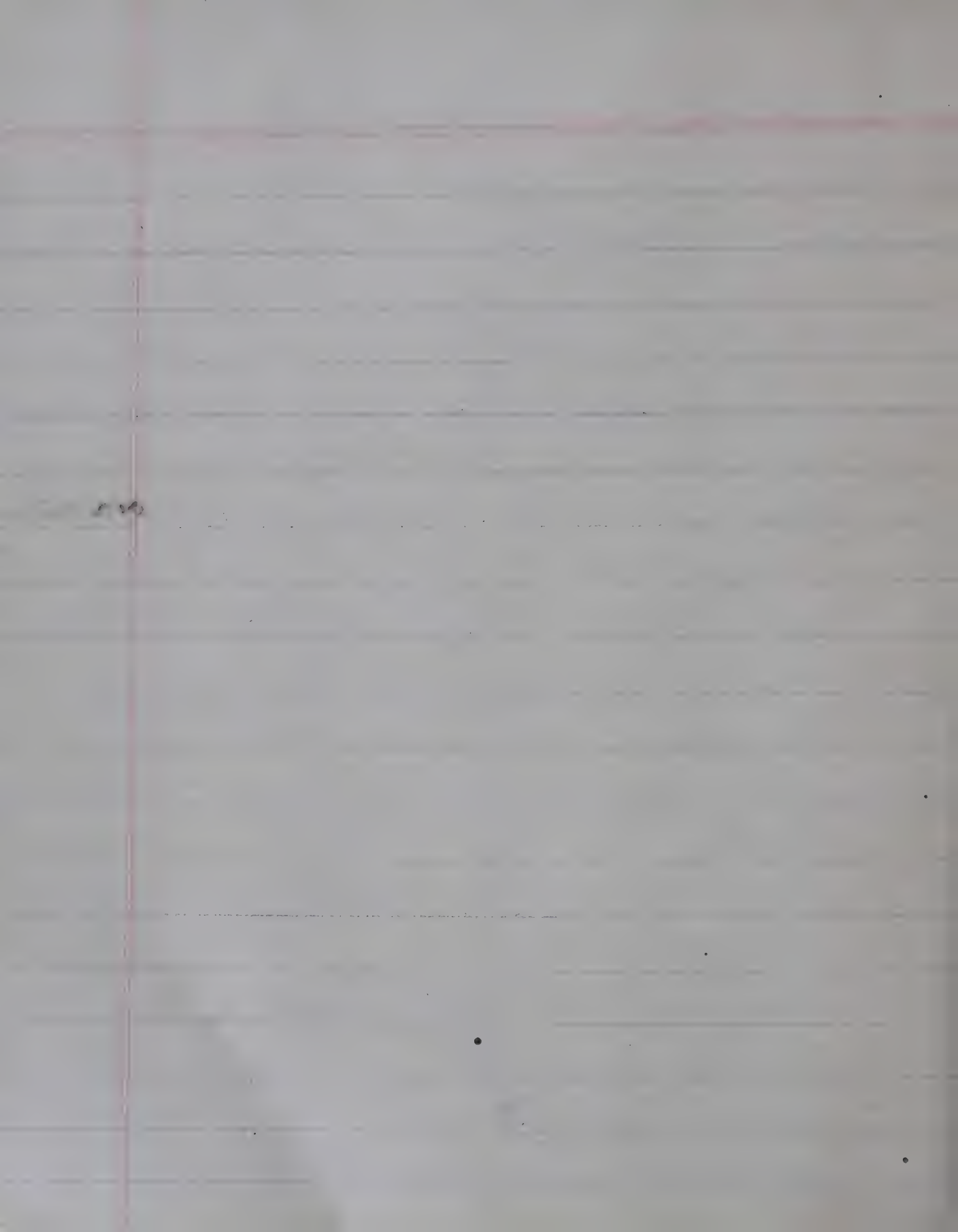
धर्मः प्रागेव सचिवगतमतिः प्रेक्षितव्याः स्वकुर्या
प्रज्जयौ रागदोषौ मृदुपुरुषगुणौ कालयोगेन कार्ष्ण,
शेयं लोकानुवृत्ते परचरनयज्ञैः मण्डलं प्रेक्षितव्यम्
रक्ष्यो वल्लदिहात्मा रणशिरसि पुनः सेवितव्योऽवेक्षितव्यः॥

This sloka again is found word for word in Bhāsa page 117 Sevadhār. Arguing in a similar strain, Sri Venkatarama Sarma showed in the Indian Historical Quarterly in 1919 that an unpublished manuscript, the Śākuntala Vyākhyā preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras quotes almost word for word about five or six dramas of this series.

As we read the other dramas in this series -



use the word in exactly the very same sense. Valmiki
 uses the word only in connection with Kaikeyi, Sita
 or Tārā and never with reference to Kausalyā
 or Sumitrā who were long long past the meno
pause stage and who could ordinarily have never
 been able to be mothers except through the intervention
 of the supernatural pāyasa. As the proverb goes,
~~दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा~~, Kaikeyi, a ~~दृष्ट्वा~~ or a maiden
 of exquisite beauty, caused his death. But as time
 passed, this peculiar ^{sense} was forgotten and the word
 was wrongly understood as the 'middle one' and
 Kaikeyi was even promoted to the second place
 among the three wives, though in order of age and
 even marriage she was really the junior most. The
 word in the masculine gender seems to have been
 understood in the sense of a mighty person, able
 to destroy everything with his ~~superhuman~~ strength
 'bhujāyudha pradhāna' as Arimāra Ka II. 11 puts it.
 In the Panekarātra II. 14 again, Balarama and Bhima
 are spoken of as swooping the entire army with their



bare hands - द्वावेन दैर्घ्या समरे प्रयातै हलायुधः पैत्र

वृकोदरश्च. Most of the heroes of Bhāsa are of such superhuman strength and Ghatotkacha challenges Duryodhana in the following unforgettable word:

दष्टोऽहो मुष्टिमुद्यम्य तिष्ठत्येष घटोत्कचः

उत्तिष्ठतु कुमानु रुष्टिर्गुणमिश्रेयमात्मनः

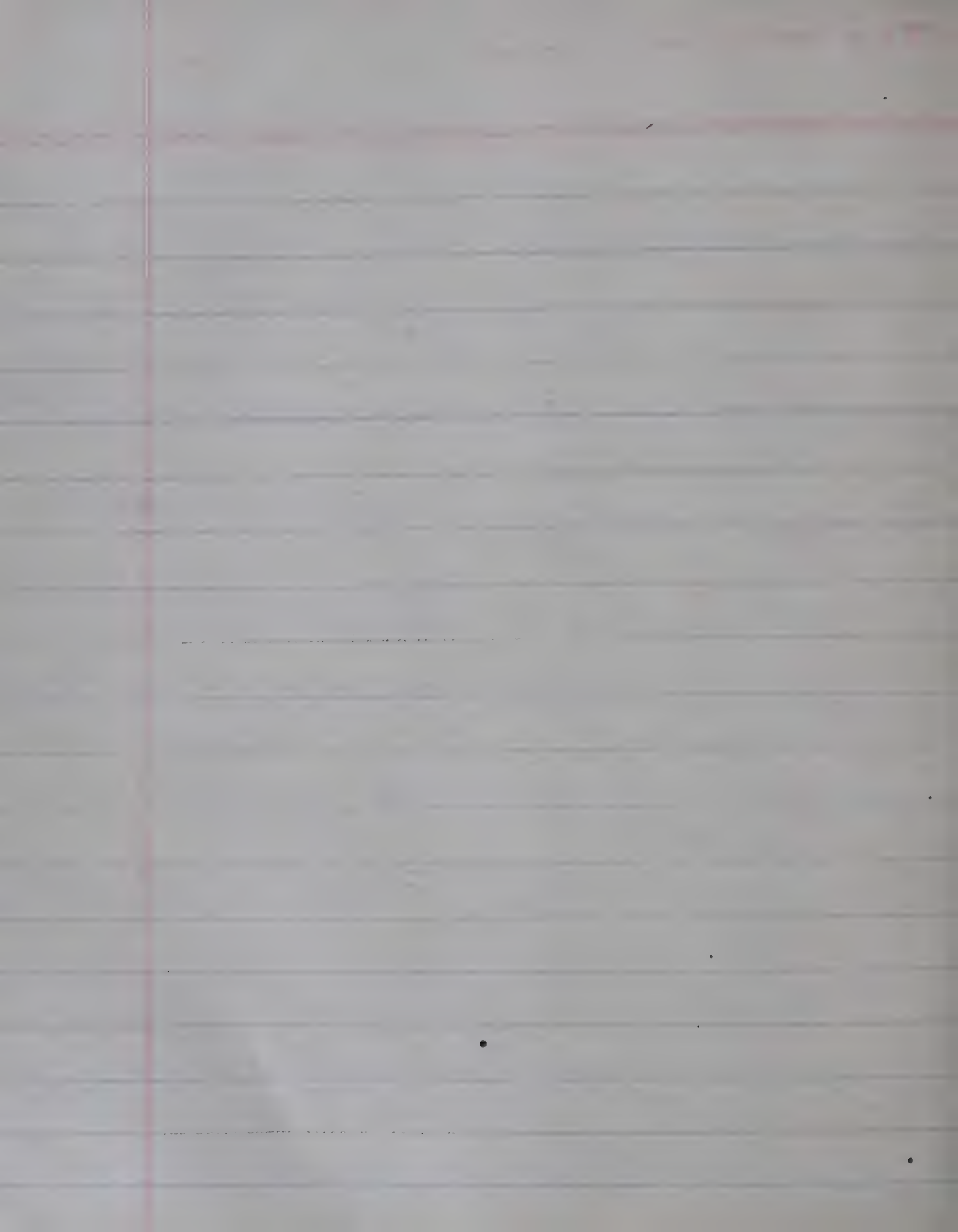
I. 50 Dūtāghatōtkaca.

The levelness of the strength cannot be brought out in a translation and I refrain from doing so.

'Aryaputra' is another peculiar word used in the ancient sense of 'master' or 'lord' as for example in the Asōkan Rock Edicts. The 'bhata' or the soldier refers to Vasudeva for example in the Bāla-caritā I. The fact that Bhāsa also uses it in the sense of 'husband' as in the later dramas does not disprove our point, but only shows that the later sense was just then coming into vogue.

The next word is the word देवालय. This word is explained in the Amarakosa as त्रिदशालय or स्वर्ग; but now it refers to a temple or a house

built for God on the earth. Sri Sāṃkara conceived the human body as a temple of God on earth; Varāhamihira in the 38th chapter of his Br̥hat jātaka refers to the installation of divine images in temples. Evidently by their time the word had already descended to the earth. But Bhāsa uses it only in the sense of heaven in Pañcarātra I '4 - (१०) लोकमुदारुरोह सकलं देवैरुतं नृभिः. The very name of his drama Pratinā makes us realise that it is not to be understood in the sense of temple images as for example in Varāhamihira. Similarly the word pratimāgr̥ha, nor even the word agnigr̥ha in connection with devakula as found in the Pratināyana gāndhārāyana III can easily make us realise that temples in the modern sense had not at all come into being. The name 'Pañcarātra' given for the drama, again, clearly testifies to the fact that it has nothing to do with the Pāñcarātrāgama governing installation of temple images and must have been written long before it came into vogue in about 450 A.D.

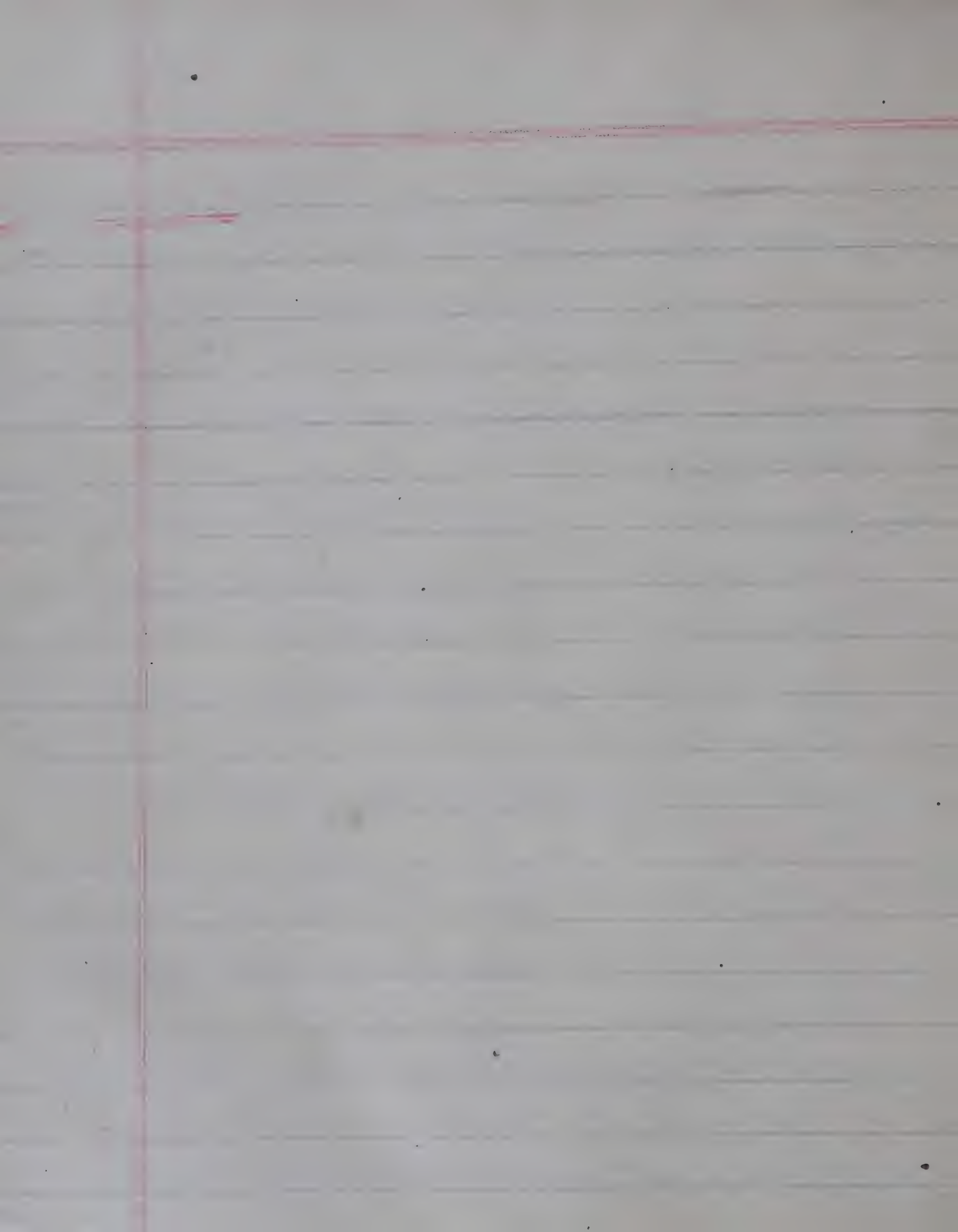


Exactly similarly, if we scan the language used by Bhāsa in these dramas, the idioms clearly exhibit a living phase of the language. Soon after Patañjali who systematised the grammar, the language ceased to grow and the ordinary man in the street could not speak it and pollute it; so in the later Kavyas of Bhāsa and Viśākhadatta, for example, the idiom has already become artificial and stagnant while in Bhāsa who was actually Patañjali's contemporary, the living idiom can be easily recognised. To take but an example, the use of the Conjunctions -त and च deserves to be noted; a few are here noted and commented upon at random.

1) ये दुर्बलश्च कृपणाश्च निराश्रयाश्च तत्रश्च शर्म मृगयन्ति -

Panca I. 37. here the context is - Drona requests half the kingdom on behalf of the Pāndavas and seems to emphasise their humble lot as though to rouse Duryodhana's sympathy by as many as four -तs.

2) त शब्देन सावशेषमिव ते व्रतं - Abhiseka III. Ravana and Vibhishana are talking just before the latter's desertion and the former here retorts 'Your त suggests something at the back of

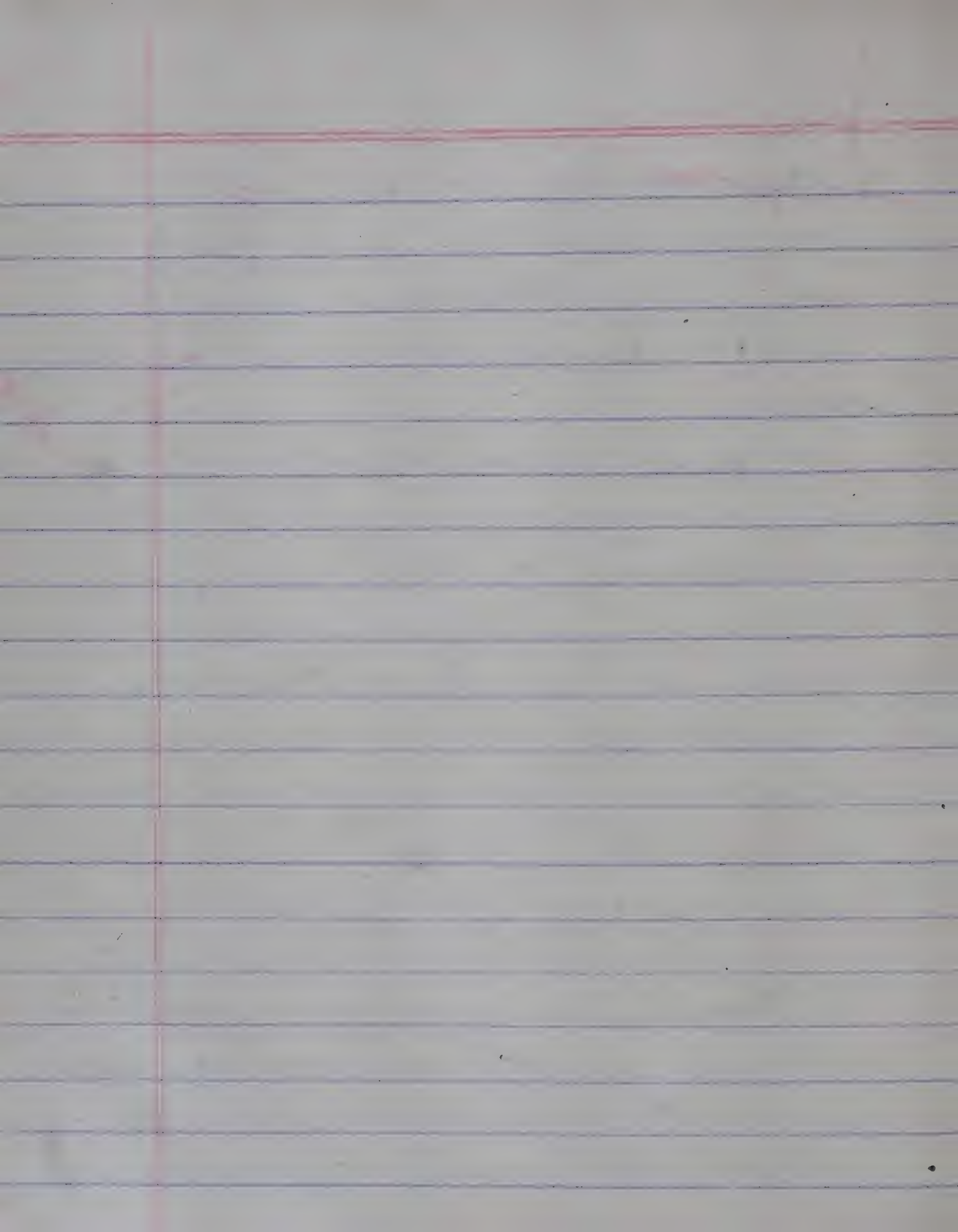


your mind, out with it!

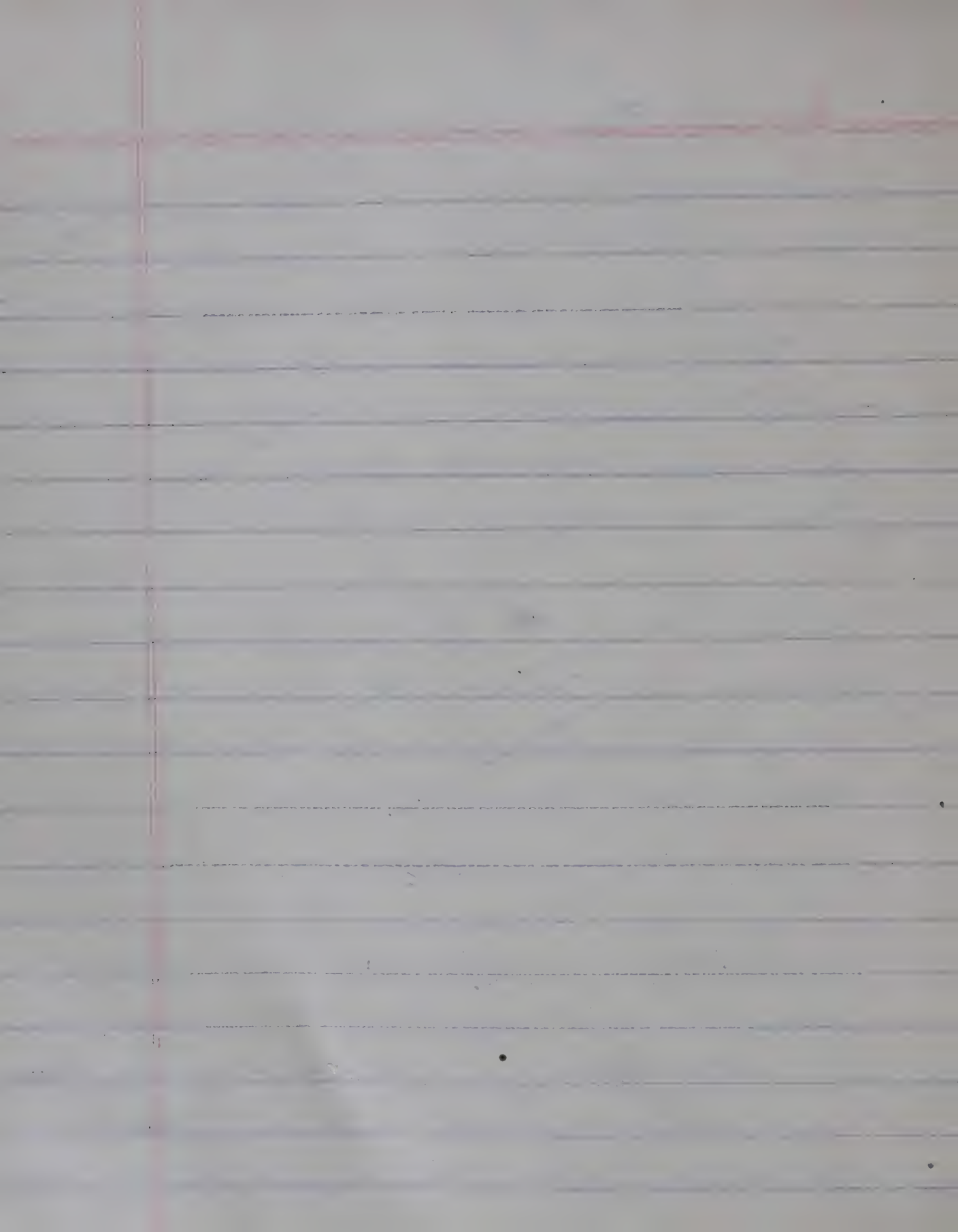
3) वाशब्देन अवगतमयदस्तीति - Pratinā V. This is exactly similar. In the Conversation between Rāvana (disguised as a Vedic priest) and Rāma, the latter detects something held over in Rāvana's mind because of the last word *अ* and asks him to explain it.

Almost exactly similarly, some of Kālidāsa's ~~types~~ of *च* indicate sameness of time for both the actions in the two clauses. Raghuvamśa 8.6 tells us that the gods reached the ocean and Viṣṇu opened his eyes exactly at the same time. ते च प्रापुरुदन्वन्तं बुबुधे यदि पुरुषः. The Kumārasambhava III 12 - त्वं सर्वतो गमि च साधकं च makes Indra praise Kāma with all emphasis by the use of the two *च*s. But centuries later, for example, in Bhartṛhari's time (750 A.D.) this very *च* though repeated after each word joined does not show any purpose at all - दिक् तं च तं च मदन् च दूमां च मां च.

The use of किकु deserves notice also. It has not as yet become an expletive or पादपूरण like च, वै, तु or हि. In the Pratinā I. 23 for example, यत्कृते महति कुंङ्गो राज्ये मे न मनोरथः। वर्षाणि किकु वस्तये चतुर्दश वने त्वया॥, the idea is



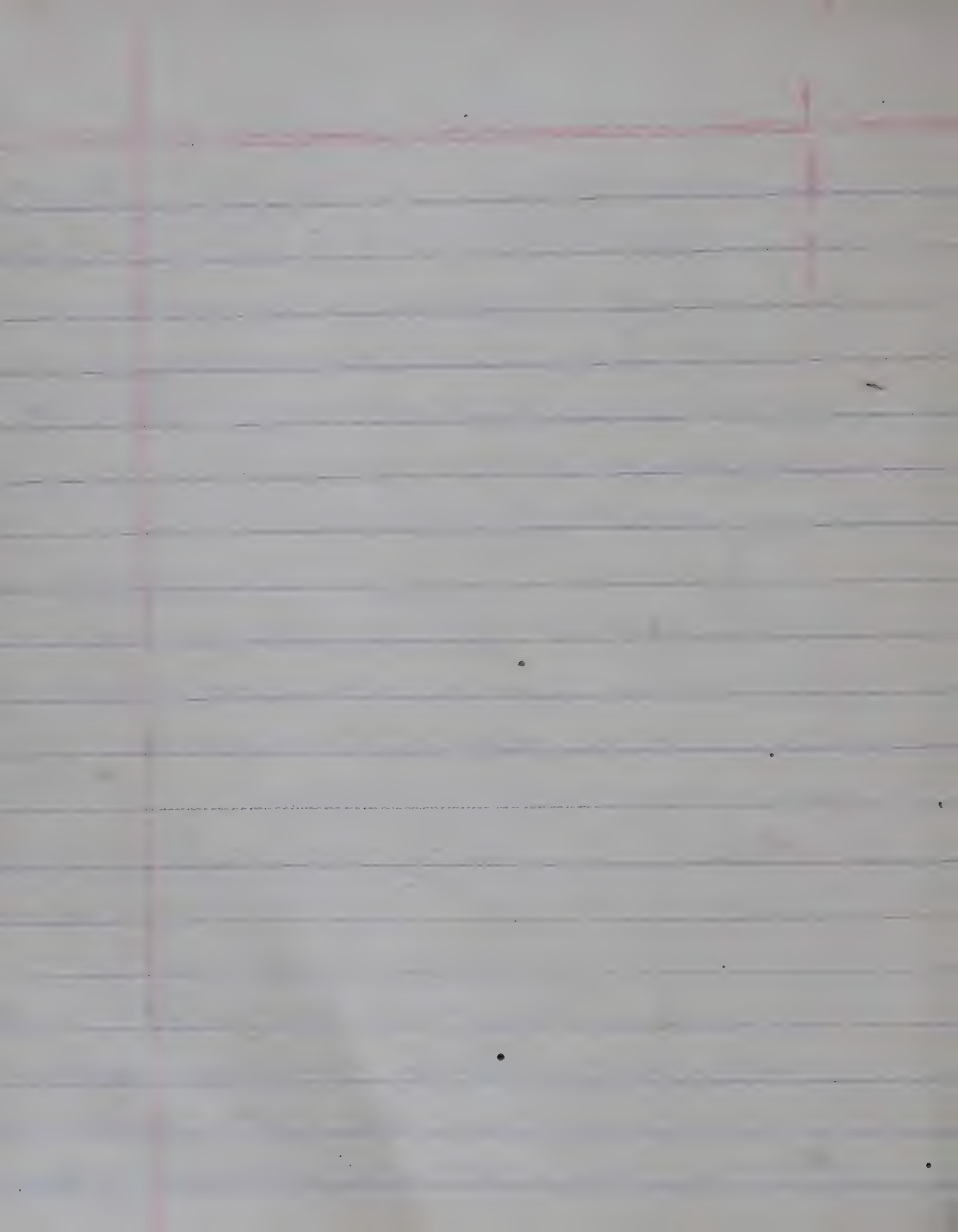
I am not bothered about the loss of the Kingdom, but about ^{as many as} living in the forest for fourteen years. Similarly another ancient idiom of the Prākṛit language, using the past passive participle itself as a noun in an abstract sense, is noticed here and there: राज्ञि॥ has राज्यविभ्रष्टकृतसन्तोषेन (in the Viṣṭambhaka at the beginning in the sense राज्यविभ्रष्टः।०. His dramas have not used the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit according to the testimony of Prākṛit specialists. By Dandin's time even in the 6th cen A.D., we know, this Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit had already become the Prākṛitām or the best among the daughters of Sanskrit. So it goes without saying that Bhāsa should have been long prior to him. Dr. Sukthankar's remarks about Bhāsa's Prākṛit: 'The Prākṛit of these dramas revealed in an equally forcible manner a stage of development of middle Indian dialects older than that preserved in the classical drama. It also betrays affinities with the Prākṛit of the fragments of Aśvaghosa's dramas, the Sanskrit of the metrical portions of our plays is found to be linked with the language of the epics'. Analekta



Let us now collect a few idioms of Bhāsa such as are not at all found in the later poets like Bhāsa or Māgha. 1) अपरिचयात् न श्लिष्यते मे मनसि (Śvapna I): This (treatment), not being familiar to me, does not attract my mind. 2) अक्षीणं मां कुरु (प्रतिज्ञा IV) make me strong by complying with my request. 3) अहं तव प्रभावी ननु? (Pancha I) = Have I power over you? 4) न कश्चिद्यत्नवानमात्मः? (Śvapna I) Did not any minister try (to console him)?

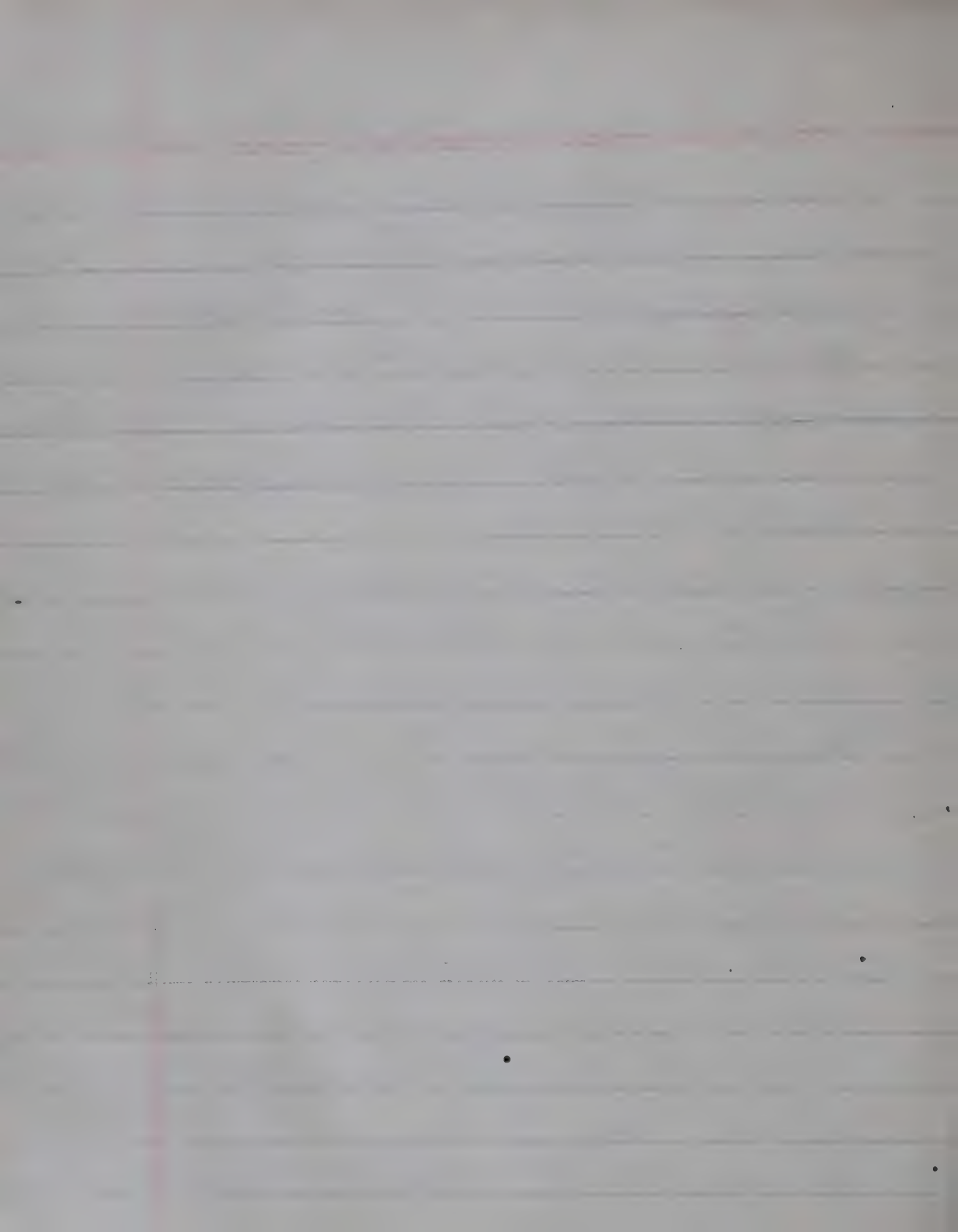
If we consider one or two usages not sanctioned by Pāṇini, we will have to grant that he must have lived at a time when these rules had not as yet acquired their universal application, in other words before Patañjali decreed that they must be obeyed:

- 1) Pancha I - यदि दातव्ये किमस्माभिः सह संश्रयसे. Here the juxtaposition of the locative Absolute with यदि is ungrammatical and never met with elsewhere.
- 2) Bāla IV. मा खलु मा खलु माहसं कृत्वा प्रवेष्टुं - Here मा clubbed with an infinitive is also ungrammatical and not found elsewhere; अहं इदानीं त्वमे प्रहर्तुं - प्रतिमा IV is also very unusual in clubbing मा with infinitive; more



irregular is प्राप्तेमा III. 5 मातृणां अभिवादनक्रममुपदेष्टुं
इच्छामि or मम हस्ते जिह्वां राग्यं नतुर्दशवर्षान्तं प्राप्नुमि
इच्छामि which are ~~against~~ ^{against} Pāṇini III. 323. 14 are
उपदिश्यमानं and प्रतिगृह्यमाणं must be explained as being
advised or accepted by the speaker or the receiver. Such
usages are rare and the prose sentence after Śākuntala
II. 15, आज्ञापयितुमिच्छामि is to be interpreted as आज्ञाप्यः
भवितुमिच्छामि.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, in a lovely allegory, describes 4
काव्ययुगः - कृते युगे व्यञ्जनवाक्तीर्णं त्रेतायुगे सैव गुणीवभूव
and echoing him, we may say that Bhāsa flourished in
the कृतयुग or the suggestive period of our literature along
with our best poets like Vālmiki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa.
Bhāsa's प्राप्ति or poetic genius is of a high order, there is
no artificiality anywhere in respect of ideas, no conventionalism;
no deterioration in tastes or standards; particularly
the number of slokas he employs is perhaps the least possible,
later poets like Bhavarābhūti or Jayadeva introduced slokas
as though to make up for their want of poetic talent. May
be, an act like the III in the Ratijñā has no sloka at all.

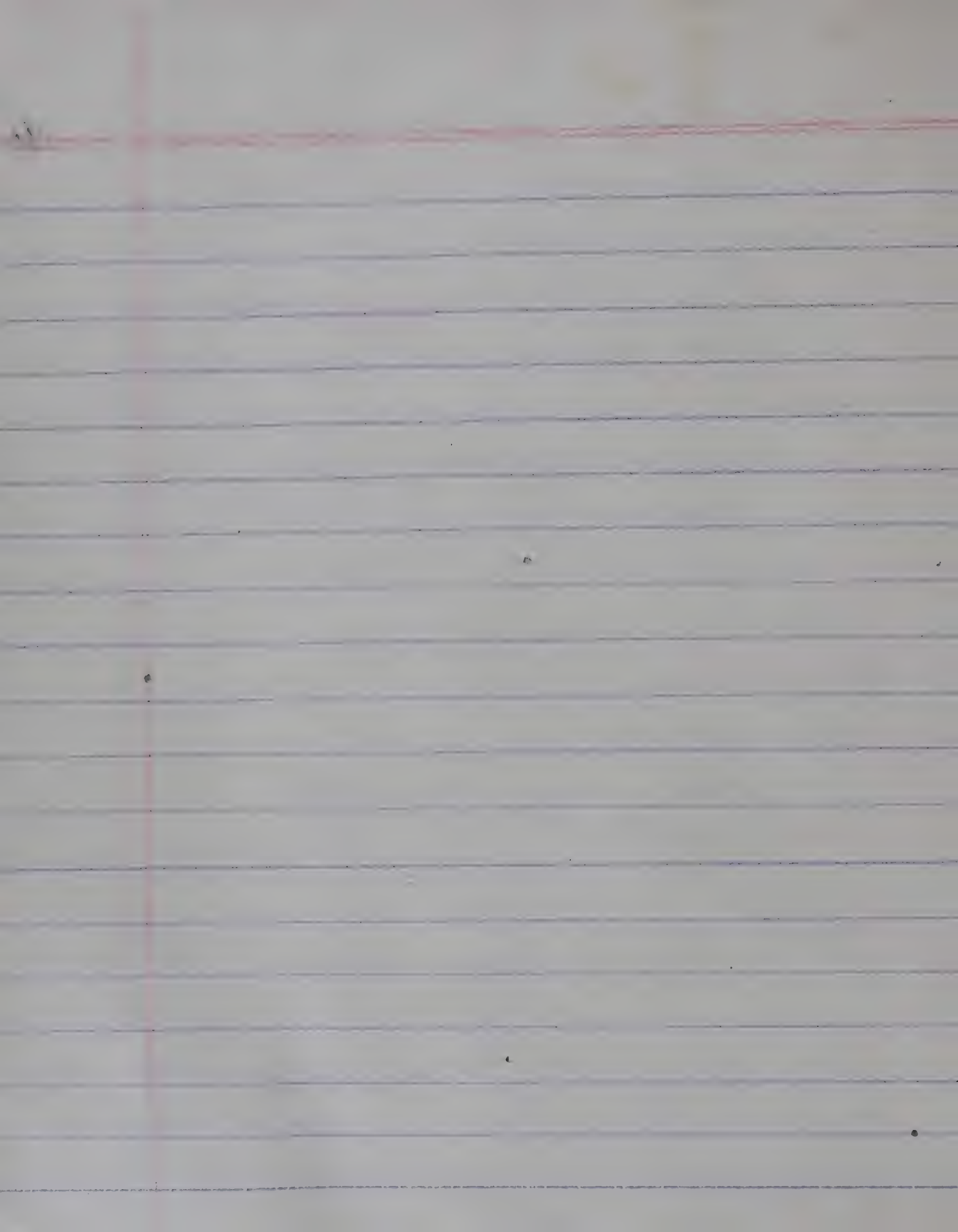


Most probably, this Bhāsa might have been the Court poet of Pusyamitra Śūnga and might have also seen the budding poet Kālidāsa who flourished in the son's Court soon after. Just as Marlowe's fame was eclipsed in English literature by Shakespeare who came too soon after him, possibly Bhāsa was outshone by the fame of Kālidāsa even to the extent of making posterity forget his name altogether. Sarojini Naidu's being almost forgotten in the context of Tagore's fame might be also noted as a parallel.

His 13 dramas might be listed into 3 groups as hereunder.

Rāma dramas	based upon Bhārata and Bhāgavataśhāsa	based upon Brhat-Kathā.
Pratimā - 7 acts	Dūtā Vākya	Primāraka - 6 acts
Abhiseka - 6 acts	Dūtā śhatōtkachā	Pratijnā yaugandha-
(Pisharod) regards Viśkambhaka in the beginning of VI act as a separate 3rd & the VI as VII act.	Mudhyama Vyayoga	rājama - 4 acts.
Yājñaphala - 7 acts.	Karna bhāra	Svepna Vāsavadatta
	Urubhanga	6 acts.
	Pandurātana - 3 acts	Cārudatta - 4 Acts.
	Bālakaṛita - 5 acts.	

The last in the first column of the Rāma dramas, yājñaphala has been recently published in Kathiawar (1947). It has been published as Bhāsa's, but Sāhitya Akademi



Shri Shiyali Sundarachariar and Doc. Kunhan Raja (now Professor of Sanskrit Andhra University) have refuted this stand in the Hindu Supplement while reviewing this book and we agree with them.

Chronology of the dramas: In what order did Bhāsa write them? Our supposition is as follows - Bālakaṇṭha (suggested to his patron to kill Brhadratha perhaps), Arimāraka, Abhi-
seka (to commemorate the accession) Mādhyaṃakyaṇḍya,
Dūta Vākya, Dūta śhatōtkacha, Karṇabhāra, Ūrubhanga
(in their natural sequence in the epic original), Pancarātra
Cāṇḍāla, Pratimā, Pratijñāyanga and harāyana, and
Śvapnāvāsavadatta. We take this Śvapna drama last
as it came out unscathed out of the "fire test" as
reported by Rājas'ekhara. Both Dr Pusalker and
Justice A.S.P. Ayyar regard the Cāṇḍāla as the last
since according to them it is incomplete probably
cut off abruptly by his death. But we do not agree
with this assumption. Similarly they start with the
Dūta Vākya, but the one-act dramas exhibit such
masterly skill that forces us to assume that they were only



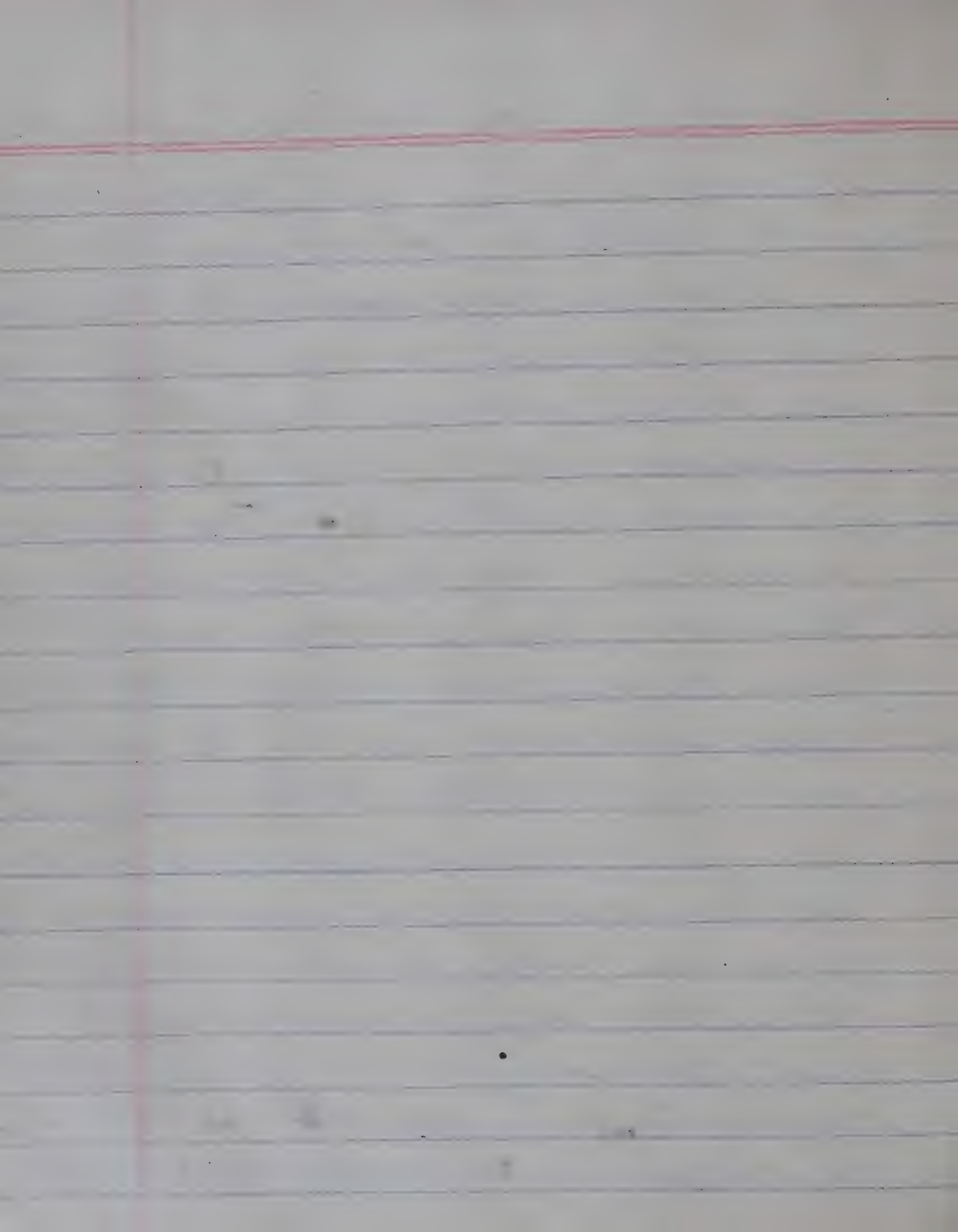
attempted after some other dramas had been written

— X —

Vyāsa,

III Chapter. Vālmiki and Bhāsa.

It has been almost established after so many years of devoted research that the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas must have reached their present final state after at least three intermediate stages of development. In other words, other mighty epic poets must have preceded Vālmiki and Vyāsa and must have written their epics which were later on wiped out by the monumental works that came after them. Probably ancient poets like Bhāsa and Aśvaghoṣa might have actually seen such 'precursors' ^{of the} epics and the latter actually refers to one such, Īyavana by name in his Buddhacarita I.43 as having preceded Vālmiki. The Matsya Purāṇa 53rd Adhyāya 71-72 refer to Brahma and Narada as having actually produced Rāmopākhyānas; ~~there~~ ^{this} was according to that very authority, 100 crores of verses in extent; this was



abridged by Nārada first and later Vālmiki, out of compassion for the short span of life of us human abridged into the modern epic so that it might lead us to attain our Puruṣārthas - Dharma, Artha, Kāma and mokṣa. This very fact has been suggestively hinted at by Vālmiki when he mentions that both of them visited him in his abode to give him the needed impulse to write the epic. In the succeeding chapter, an attempt is made to show that Bhāsa might have flourished soon after Vālmiki, Uyāsa, Bharata (of Nāṭyaśāstra), Kautilya, Vātsyāyana, Gautama, Āpastamba, Vātsyāyana and Manu on the strength of his style and ancient words.

Bhāsa has taken the name of the drama Pancha-rātra from the Arjudyā Kāṇḍa 62nd adhyāya 17 (Kumbhak edn). We cannot but remember Viśvāmitra's Dakṣarātra yajña in this connection. In the Sākuntala III when in Ravana's absence, the sages request Duryanta to protect their sacrifices for a few nights, we see this tradition of nightly

sacrifices persisting. Similarly in another drama of the series, in the Madhyama Vyāyoga, another yajna, the Sātakumbha is referred to. The practicing of such yajnas has been long forgotten, but we can perceive that all were eagerly performing the Vedic rituals. Youngsters would duly prostrate before the elders; after touching an unclean corpse, or after sneezing or weeping, every one would do the holy sipping of the water or ācamana. Similarly, if Manu's rule for greeting ब्राह्मणं कुशलं पृच्छेत् क्षत्रियं नमस्कारमायं । वैश्यं क्षेमं समगम्य बहून्मोक्षमयैव ॥ is followed strictly by Kālidās. Vālmiki, who must have flourished long long before Manu, knows nothing of the rule and jumbles them up together. In Bāla Kāṇḍa II.25, Vālmiki greets Brahma with an अनामयप्रणम as if he were a Kṣātriya. Later in the context where Viśvāmitra and Daśaratha greet other, they both inquire about the other's Kuśala. Bhāṣa also does not restrict the Kuśala greeting for Brahmins and the anāmayaprasna for Kṣātriya. In the Rītavākye Durgāthana greets the Kṣātriya^{ner} both an अनामयप्रणम

but with a कुराक पञ्ज - सर्वे समुद्राः कुराक पञ्जः; and
in response Sri Krishna enquires about both कुराक and
अनामय. (कुराक अनामय च दृष्ट्वा)

There is a Rāmopākhyāna parva in the Bhīmat
epic comprising chapters 274 to 293 in the Vanavān
(Kumbhak edn). There seems to be a small difference
between Vālmiki and this. We do not propose to enter
into the question of their relative priority to each other,
but we wish to state that Bhāsa's story in his two dramas,
the Pratiṃā and the Abhisēka seems to follow Vyāsa's
summary rather than Vālmiki's. We shall illustrate
this only by one example. After Indragiri's death, Bhāsa's
Ravana rushes out (in his Abhisēka) to cut off Sita's head
when a servant intervenes saying अग्र्यं स्त्रीवत्
न कर्तव्यः (p. 660 Devanāgarī); after this only he starts for
the famous रामराक्षस युद्ध. In ardhyaṇya 290, 26th verse
reads as follows: - रावणः शोकमोहात् वैदेहीं हनुमुपतः।
इदं मादाय दृष्ट्वा जवेतां निपपात ह ॥ तं दृष्ट्वा तस्य दुर्बलैः
अविन्द्यः पापक्षिप्तः। शमयामास संकुलं नास्ति हनुं
अर्हति ॥ The context and the words are exactly the

same as anybody can see for himself. Such resemblances can be easily detected by the readers. This apart, all the Rāma stories current now, Adhyatma Rāmāyaṇa, the Rāmākathā in Padma Purāṇa, Tamil Kamban, Kannada Torave, Jain's Paṇḍita Rāmāyaṇa, Hindi Rāmacaritamāṇsa, and Telugu Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa, all agree in making Kaikeyi beg Daśaratha for two boons in sending Rāma to the forest. Alone among the Rāma story writers, Bhāsa refers to Daśaratha's gifting the kingdom to Kaikeyi at the time of her marriage and makes Bharata the rightful owner of the kingdom. Perhaps we might infer from this that in Bhāsa's time there were others who narrated the story differently, but these were evidently overshadowed by Vālmiki's towering personality.

Some of Bhāsa's peculiar words follow Vālmiki's usage. One of such words is रक्षणीयं used to refer to रक्षणीयं वस्तु or something deserving to be protected; later of course, it became restricted only to wife. The neuter gender of the word also becomes explicable now.

In Skandhā Kānda 45th Sarga Verse 23, we read -

भवान् कलत्रमस्माकं स्वामिभावे व्यवस्थितः । स्वामी कलत्रं संयस्य
गतिरेषा वरत्नप ॥ तस्मात्कलत्रवत्तात परिपाक्यः भद्रा भवान् ॥ and

also in Sundara Kānda 37th Sarga 46th Sloka we read

कलत्रवति तद्देहः । त्वय्यपि सादृशं शयः । कलत्रं is obviously used

as something to be protected. In Bhāsa's Pratipāṭ 1.4 -

सर्वं हि सर्वं अनुरागमृते कलत्रं and also in Anurāga

I act after the princess' rescue, the King asks the minister -

किं तस्य कलत्रं अस्ति? and the minister's reply is this - सर्वमस्ति

स्वयमनिर्विष्टः - This might be thus translated - 'What has he

a family to protect?' and the minister replies - 'He has, but

he has not taken a wife himself (to protect her). This

latter usage seems to suggest how the restriction of the

meaning came about. We list together in parallel columns

such verbal or sense correspondences:

Valmiki (Kumbhak १००)

Bhāsa (Anurāga)

अधुना तत्र पश्यामि स्मृतिर्मम विदुः -

अपते । अयोध्या - 65 - 65.

अहं, मे स्मृताः । तत्र पश्यामि अधुना । रामं

प्रति गता बुद्धिरप्यपि तत्र वर्तते । प्रतिमा ८. १०

अग्रजो ग. २३ शौमित्रे सीता त्वामनुगच्छतु

पुष्टतो दृग्मिषमि - अयोध्या - 52 - 96.

रामरुद्रमप्ययोर्मध्ये तिष्ठतत्रापि मे विदुः

प्रतिमा ८. १०

वाहि वात यतः कान्ता तां स्पृष्ट्वा मामपि स्पृष्ट्वा
सुदृकाः - ५. 6.

धन्याः खलु वने वाताः तदकपरिवर्तिनः
विचरन्तं वने रात्रिं मे स्पृशन्ति यथा सुखं
प्रतिमा ५. 12.

दैवं पुरुषकारेण यः समर्थः प्रवाधितुं
न दैवेन विपन्नार्थः पुरुषः सोऽवसीदति
अयोध्या 24. 37.

दैवं पुरुषकारेण वञ्चयिष्याम्यहं ध्रुवं
Bibāṭhārāṭṭa II. 14.

सहजराहितेव चक्रवाकी जनकसुता
कृपणां दृशं प्रपन्ना - सुन्दरः ३०.

नैवेदानीं तादृशश्चक्रवाकाः - Śaṅkha.

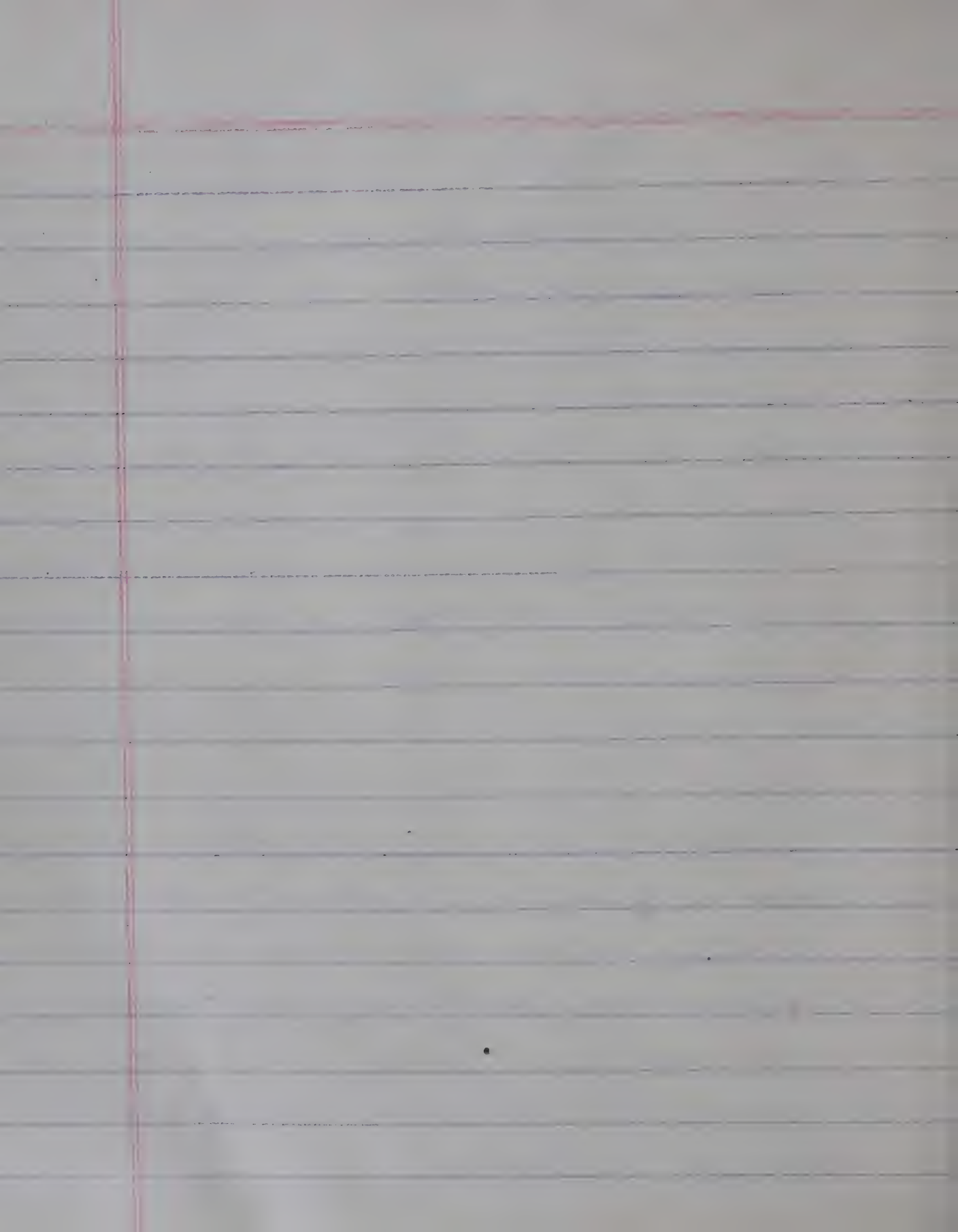
भर्तृनाथाः परान्ति याः - अयोध्या - 11-24.
अयोध्यामदकीं विद्धि - "

भर्तृनाथा हि नार्थः - प्रतिमा ५. 25.

अस्माभिश्च परित्यक्तं पुरं संपद्यतं वने.
अयोध्यापि भवेत्तस्या रामहीना यथा क्वं

नायोध्या तं विनायोध्या सारोऽध्या
यत्र राघवः - प्रतिमा ५. 24.

If Vivānitra calls Rāma affectionately कौसल्यासुप्रजा; the dramatist following him closely makes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa addressed as कौसल्यामातः and सुमित्रामातः. Sloka bits like अग्निरेमेव कालेन, शक्तिः कालान्तकोपमा, कम्पयन्तिव which are quite common for Purānic writers are found here also as Dr Sukthankar has already noted. He has also noted 'unimportant prose is mixed up with fancy metres mostly lyrical, and these are rudimentary attempts at dramatisation, not quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic prototype.



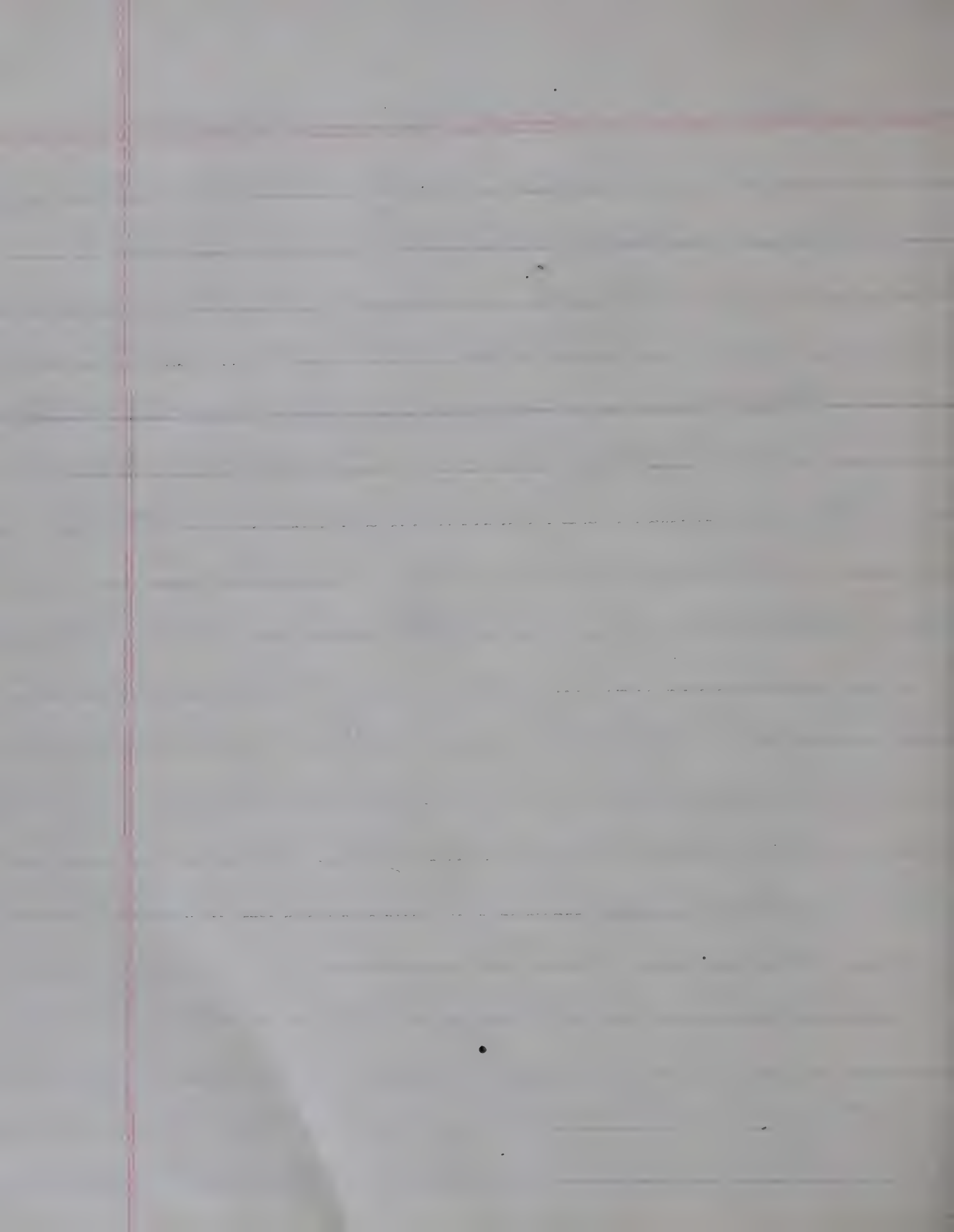
b) Veda Vyāsa: Khoh Copper plate inscription (533A.D) has already called the Mahābhārata 'Sātasāhasrī Samhitā'. Without the episodes, it had only 24,000 slokas. If we exclude the Harivamśa ^(16,374 verses), Hopkins calculated 84,126 slokas in the northern Recension. The Kumbakonam edition contains 96,578 slokas. To make up the lakh, 16,000 slokas for the northern, and 3,500 slokas for the southern recensions are required. Evidently with the lapse of time, some slokas must have been omitted due to various reasons. Perhaps in Bhāsa's time, most of these episodes might not have been lost, and definitely a few more episodes should have existed.

One such episode seems to be the Madhyama-Vyāyoga episode where Ghatotkacha is depicted as a killer of Brahmins. A brahmin family, father, mother and 3 children, is proceeding to the next village for a sacred thread ceremony; the giant boy waylays them and demands that one of the brothers should be offered up to his mother for her breakfast. The epic Drona parva adhyāyas 182, slokas 25 to 27 (Kumbakonam) are as

follow: यदि त्रेजं नाहनिष्यत्कर्णः शक्रो महामृधे
 मया वधोऽभविष्यत्स औष्मसे निर्घटोत्तमः ।
 मया न निहतः पूर्वं एष युष्माक्षि ये मया ।
 धर्मस्य लोप्ता पापात्मा यज्ञद्वेषी व राक्षसः ॥
 एष इह ब्राह्मणद्वेषी तस्मादेष निपतितः

When we read this, we realise that Ghatotkacha should have treated the Brahmins malevolently perhaps in many more ways; and these might have been now omitted. Further in the same drama, when we read that Bhīma declares he knows a māyāpākā mantra received by him as a result of Śiva's grace, we have to guess that just as Arjuna received the Pāśupata missile through Śiva's grace, Bhīma also might have propitiated the same god and been granted this wonderful art of release from all sorts of magic bonds. Evidently when the epic was recast to make Arjuna alone supreme, this penance of Bhīma seems to have dropped out.

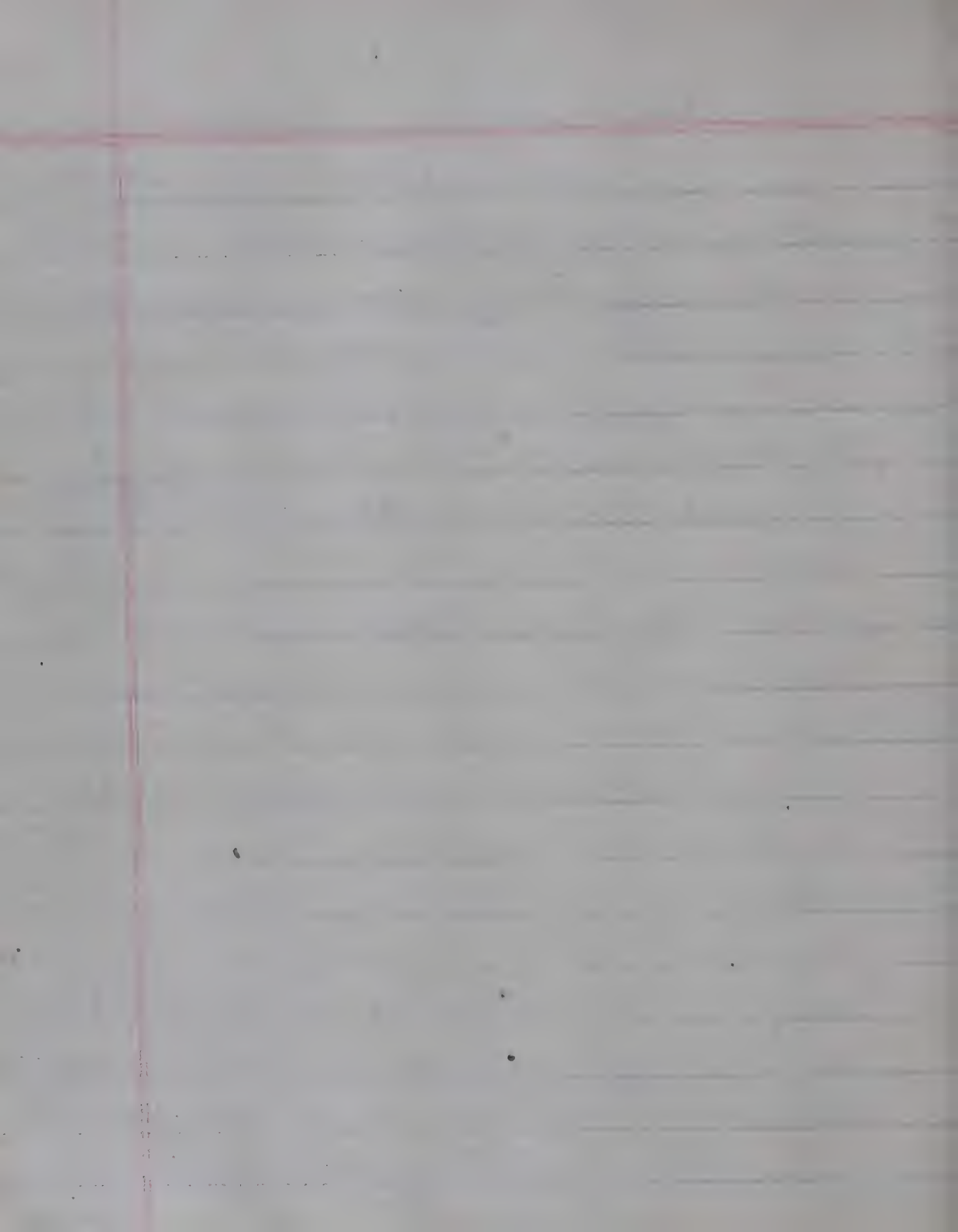
Similarly, Pañcārātra III 12 refers to a test in which Bhīma's skill in archery was tested by Drona. The epic stops with a test for Arjuna's skill only. The



Shloka itself is: कर्णयते तेन शरे विमुक्ते विक्रमिंतं तस्य शिरो मयोक्तं

गता तदा तेन व वाणतुल्यं अप्राप्तलक्षः स शरो गृहीतः

Evidently, in this test for Bhima's skill, the guru nodded rather disapprovingly, after the arrow was discharged; touched to the quick, Bhima walked, with a speed equal or even faster than the arrow itself, he reached the arrow before it reached the target and took it away. When Ranna, the famous Jaina poet in his *Gadāyuddha* (in Kannada) ^{about 11th cen. A.D.} VI.28 records - *guru lakṣyaśi ddhiyillene parivambam paridu pididu began tarpam | tire parana javade parana ja paritam mandiradeyale yitirum baleyum*, he also adds the reason for this saying it was but natural for Bhima to do so as he was the son of the wind god. Sri Maṭhura, the famous Devita Ācārya of the 12th cen in his *Mahābhārata Tātparya nirṇaya* quotes many sentences or shlokas from *Vedavyāsa* which are not found in the epic as it exists today. This clearly shows that even after the 12th century so many sentences are lost; if Bhāsa existed about 1200 years prior to Maṭhura, it is obvious many more shlokas and episodes even might have been there then.



The Bhāgavata Purāṇa as we have it now is definitely later than the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. It is obvious that parts of it must have been recast at a later date. We cannot assert whether the earlier Bhāgavata or the later Bhāgavata existed in Bhāsa's time. The Bhāgavata as we have it makes Kṛṣṇa the 8th child of Devakī; it makes the heavenly voice foretell Kamsa about his death, while in Bhāsa, the child is the 7th, and sage Madhukā's curse it is that causes Kamsa's death. There are many such discrepancies also. Bhāsa describes the Hālāsaka of Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis, while Bhāgavata calls it the Rāsakridā. The former refers to the names of the Gopis as Ghoṣa sundarī, Vanamālā, Candraraktā, Mṛigāksī, while the Bhāgavata adds many more names (though Rādhā does not come there; she comes only in the later Jayadeva, Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa etc). Bhāsa's story seems to correspond with the Jaina Neminātha Purāṇa in some particulars and also with the Buddhist Ghaṭajāta to some extent. We conclude this chapter by guessing that Bhāsa might have lived only about 4 or 5 centuries later than Vālmīki and Vyāsa and must have imbibed their ideas fully.

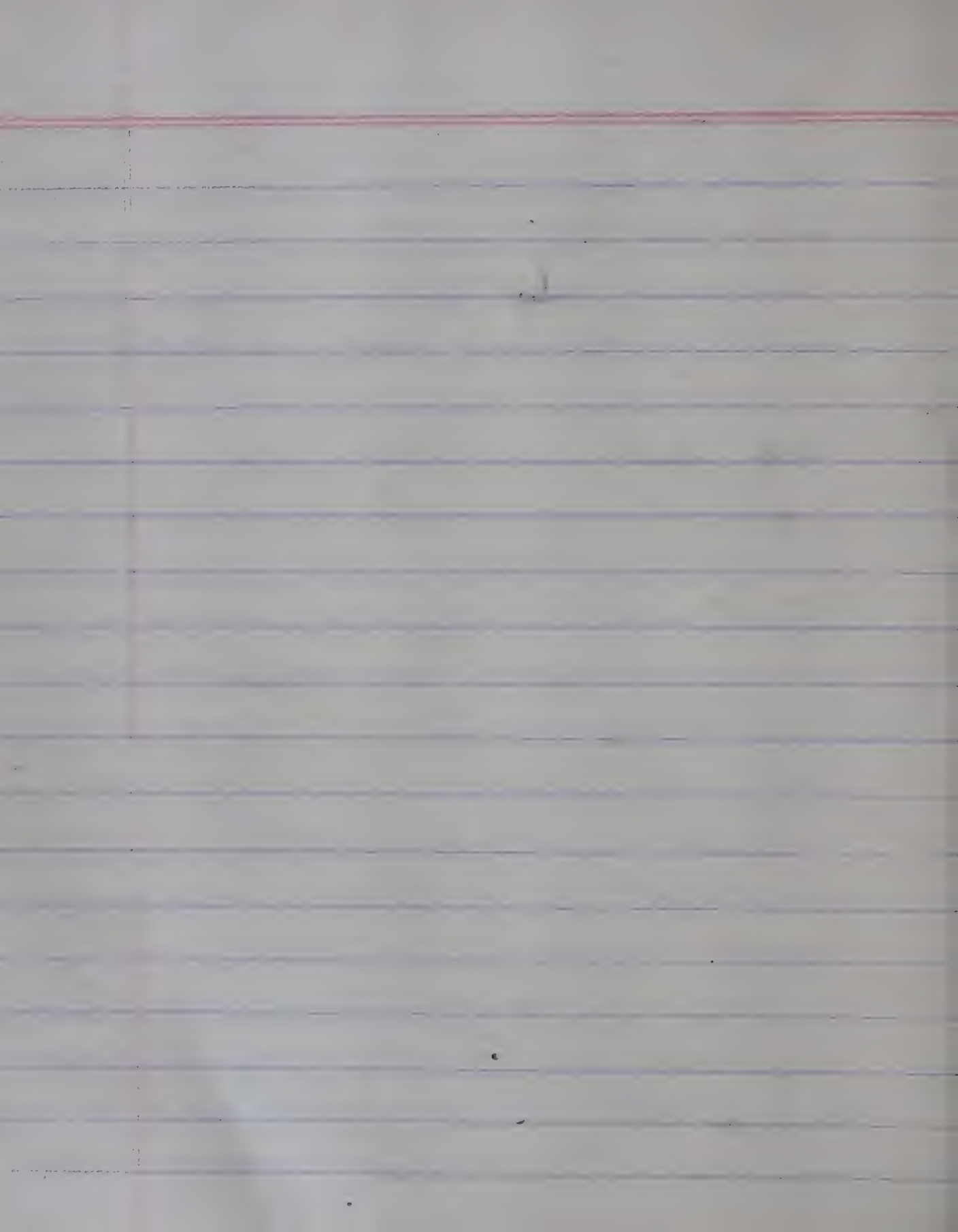
Chapter. Bharata and Vyāsa.

~~Chāndatta~~, ~~Pandārātra~~, ~~Madhyamavyāyoga~~, ~~Dūta-ghatōtkacha~~, ~~Tirubhanga~~, - These dramas do not use the word bharatavākya at the end, but the other 8 in this series do use the word exactly as in the case of all other Sanskrit dramas. But this by itself does not decide that Bharata should have preceded Bhāsa, since the scribes might have introduced this system of writing the word as Vis'vanātha in his Sāhitya-darpana seems to indicate discussing this very point.

लोकस्य चरितं नाट्यं is the definition of drama in Bharata's work (लोकवृत्तानुकरणं in Verse 78 I adhyāya - N.S. Edition of 1894). In other words, when Bharata wrote his work, drama was only reflecting life and had not as yet concerned itself with the ideals thereof. We see this very reflection of society as it is in Bhāsa. But the very same Bharata declared in verse 81, लोकोपदेशजनन एतत् शरीर्यति and here the word शरीर्यति seems to have a peculiar significance. Evidently the critics who

Who came after Bharata seem to have completely changed the outlook from the realistic to the idealist dramas. This apart, Bharata in VI.150 directs the Nāṇḁ Sūtra dhāra to quit ~~after~~ the Pūrvavāṅga ceremony (of worshipping the stage); the Sthāpaka Sūtra dhāra should then announce the plot of the drama. Bhāsa echoes this in प्रस्तावनीप्रतिसमापनसूत्रम्: in Dūta ghaṭotkaca Nāṇḁ. If we understand aright the hint in Bhāsa's statement, it looks as though he argues that the Pūrvavāṅga Sūtra dhāra can easily be dispensed with. That is why later dramatists dropped out the first Sūtra dhāra and started straightaway with the latter only. In this connection the adjective - सूत्रम् कुतरेभ्यः used by Bāṇa with reference to Bhāsa's dramas (in Harṣa's drama introductory verse 15) is to be carefully considered. In all these dramas excepting Karna dhāra, the word प्रस्तावना alone has been used (instead of the usual प्रस्तावनी); this is characteristically very brief and ends with the words 'अथ! किं नु खलु माय विनापनमग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते? अह! पश्यामि!'; even कर्णधार also ends thus. Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. Ganapati Sastriar, who

bequeathed these dramas to the world of scholars, unfortunately argued that this was definitely a Bhāsa characteristic, that all dramas with such introductory scenes were Bhāsa's dramas only. That this definition was vitiated both by the defects of अग्रापि and आग्रेव्यापि (too narrow and too wide) was shown to the world when Śaktibhūṣa's *Aśvamedhikādamani*, *Dāmetaka Prahasana*, *Subhadrādharmajaya*, *Mattavilāsa prahasana* and such other dramas were published. In this connection Abhinavagupta's testimony deserves to be noted - *Nāṭya Śāstra* Com. Edited in Baroda Vol. I p 251 - द्विविधं प्रस्तावना भवति पूर्वरङ्गस्य अङ्गभूतामस्य वा। तत्र पूर्वरङ्गे अस्माः कविः उदासीनः स्थापक इव स्वतंत्रो निर्माता त्वमो वा कविः ध्रुवागतादावपि पदम् । यदहं श्रीहर्षः - अत इव हार्षो (भर्षो ?) नाम कविः कास्मिंश्चिन्नारके (नरकविक्रमे ?) दिवं प्रातःचित्तज्वरेण कलिः इत इव अभिवर्तते । अडाक्यमस्य पुरतः अवस्थानं ... etc. The passage is very defective, but on the amendment suggested by Mr Kavi himself, we could see that according to the testimony of Śri Harṣa (not the dramatic Emperor, nor even the Naiṣaṭha author, but a *Nāṭya Śāstra* commentator of about the 6th cen A.D.), Bhāsa must have



written another drama Nalavikrama which ended exactly as other drama prastāvanās now end, without the words अये! किं नु खलु मयि °. Tradition also records that Bhāsa was the author of Kirāṇāvatī and other dramas and without seeing these other dramas also, it would be hazardous to define their characteristics.

To continue about Bharata. It is Nāṭya sāstra XVIII 19, and 20 make it abundantly clear that it was not Bharata who prohibited representation of death on the stage; it must have been some critics who immediately followed him that prohibited it and banished it completely. The Verses themselves should be carefully read -

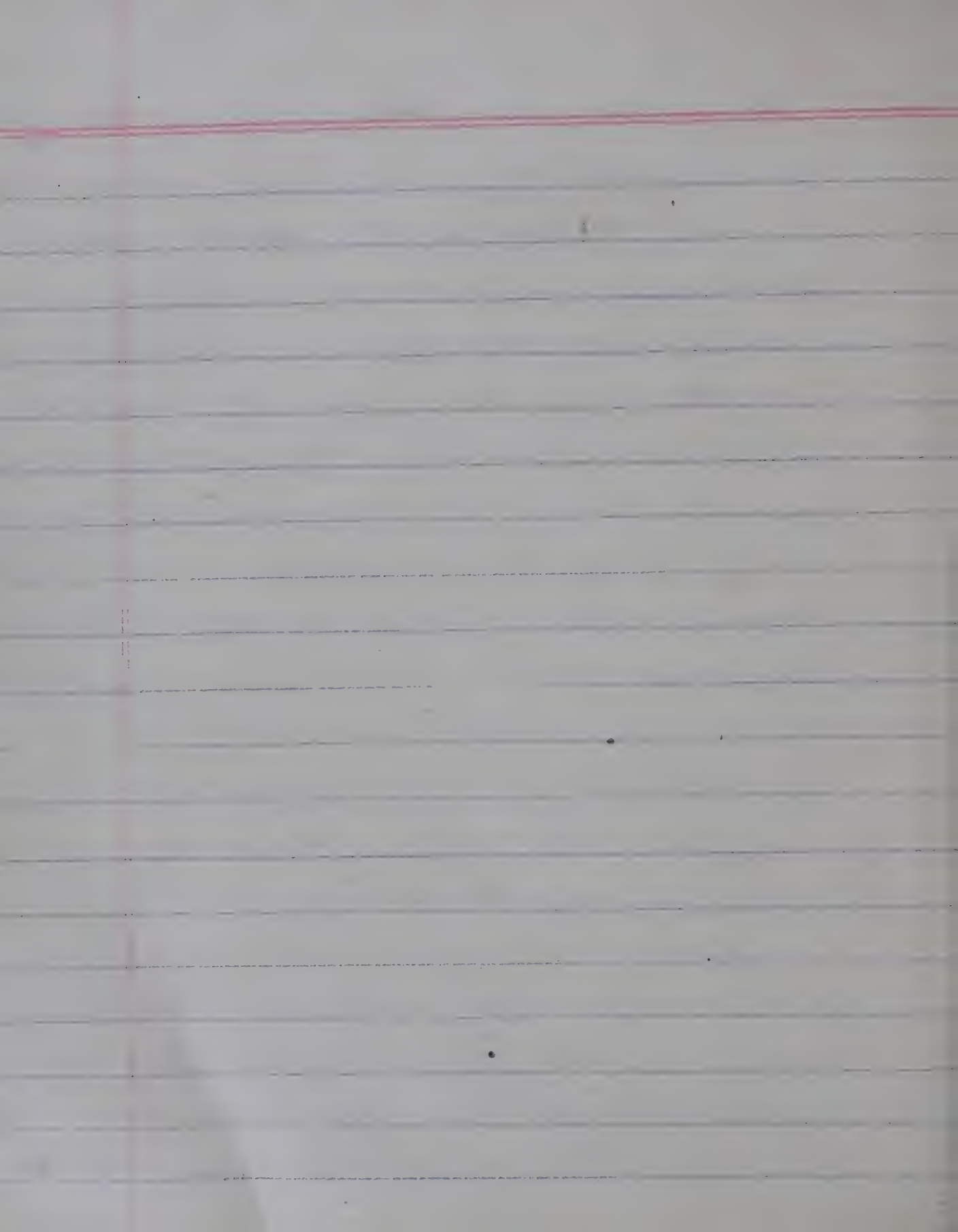
न भेद्यं नपि च भेद्यं न अपि रुधिरसूतिः ।

इदं, प्रहरणं कार्यं न अपि व्यक्तघातनम ॥

राजामात्रेण कर्तव्यं शस्त्राणां मोक्षणं बुधैः

अथवा भिन्नयोषेतं कुर्याद्भेद्यं विधानतः ॥

Particularly the words underlined - striking there may be, but not clear ^{or open} murder on the stage; does this not imply that अथवा व्यक्तघातन a murdering rather overtly may be permitted? The word मात्रेण again implies that



some weapons may be discharged or perhaps pretended to
 be drawn forth; only a pretence of cutting with the weapon
 may be exhibited on the stage. From this, it is quite clear that
 some small mock fights could be permitted on the stage
 by Bharata. As a matter of fact, Bharata deals with
 Vīrarasa dominated drama, like Vyāyoga, Samavakāna
 utṣṛṣṭikāṅka among the ten different kinds of dramas
 and it was inevitable that death should be exhibited
 at the end in such dramatic scenes. Maybe such Vyāyoga
 and Samavakānas might not have survived today, but it
 is interesting that Bhāsa's dramas include a Mādhya
 Vyāyoga and Pancarātra a Samavakāna (in Bharata's
 sense of the words). Bhāsa's Vāli, Duryodhana, Daśaratha
 actually die on the stage and go to heaven escorted by
 Apsaras on kamasa propelled aerial chariots, in
 the full gaze of the audience. From Patanjali's testimony,
 we understand that dramatist troupes staged dramas
 like Kamsavadha and Balibandha and Rama was
 'actually killed' on the stage. From this it is evident that
 Bhāsa should have flourished almost immediately after

Bharata, but sufficiently before the critics following him succeeded in prohibiting death scenes altogether on the stage.

This Nāṭyaśāstra XII. 179 (N.S. Edn) enjoins lion seats for kings and gods, chairs for chaplains and ministers, seats made of wood for Brahmins, Carpets for princes.

देवानां नृपतीनां च दद्यात् सिंहासनं (द्विजाः) ।

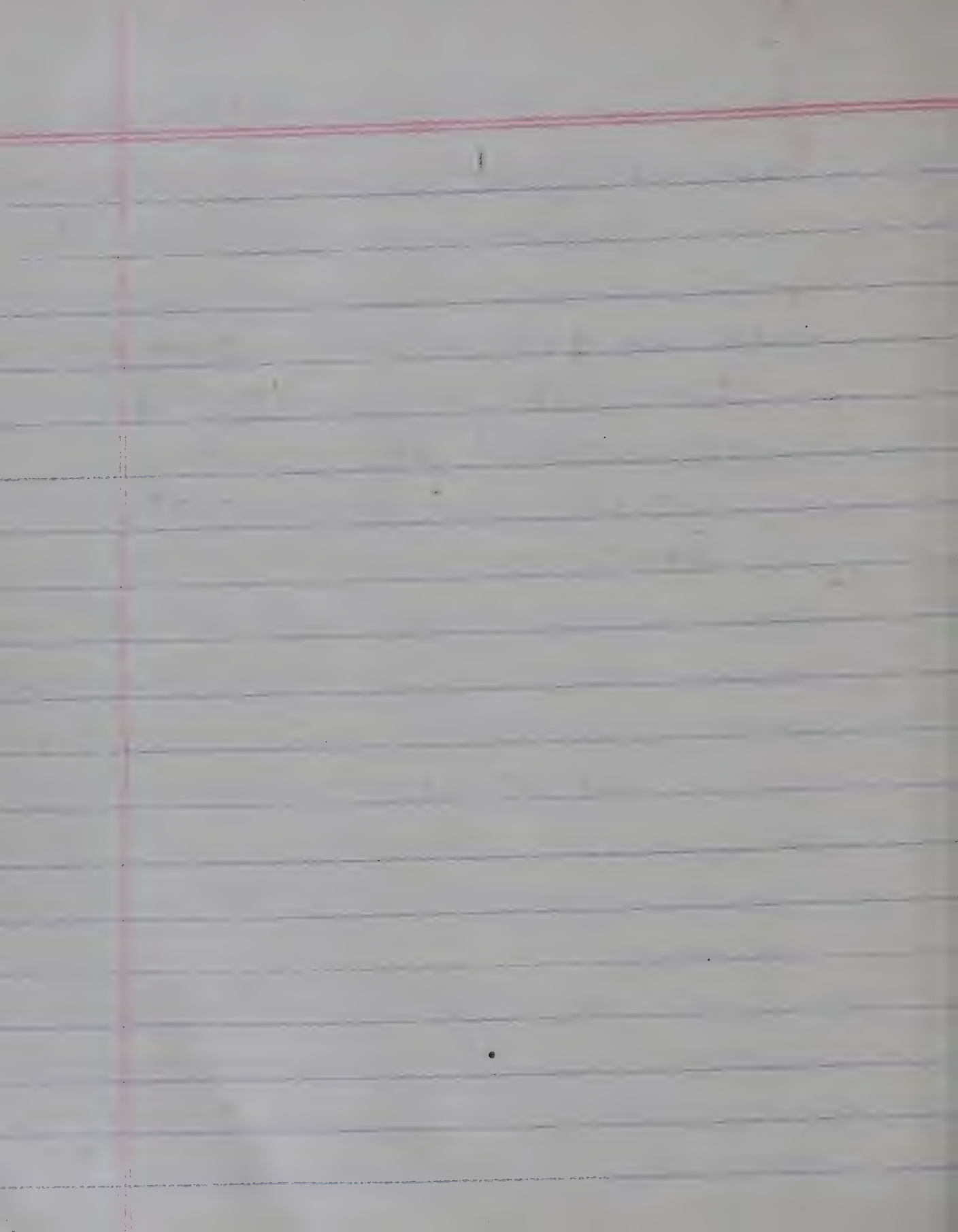
पुरोधसाममात्यानां भवेद्देवायनं तथा ॥

मुण्डासनं च दातव्यं सेनानीयुवराजयोः ।

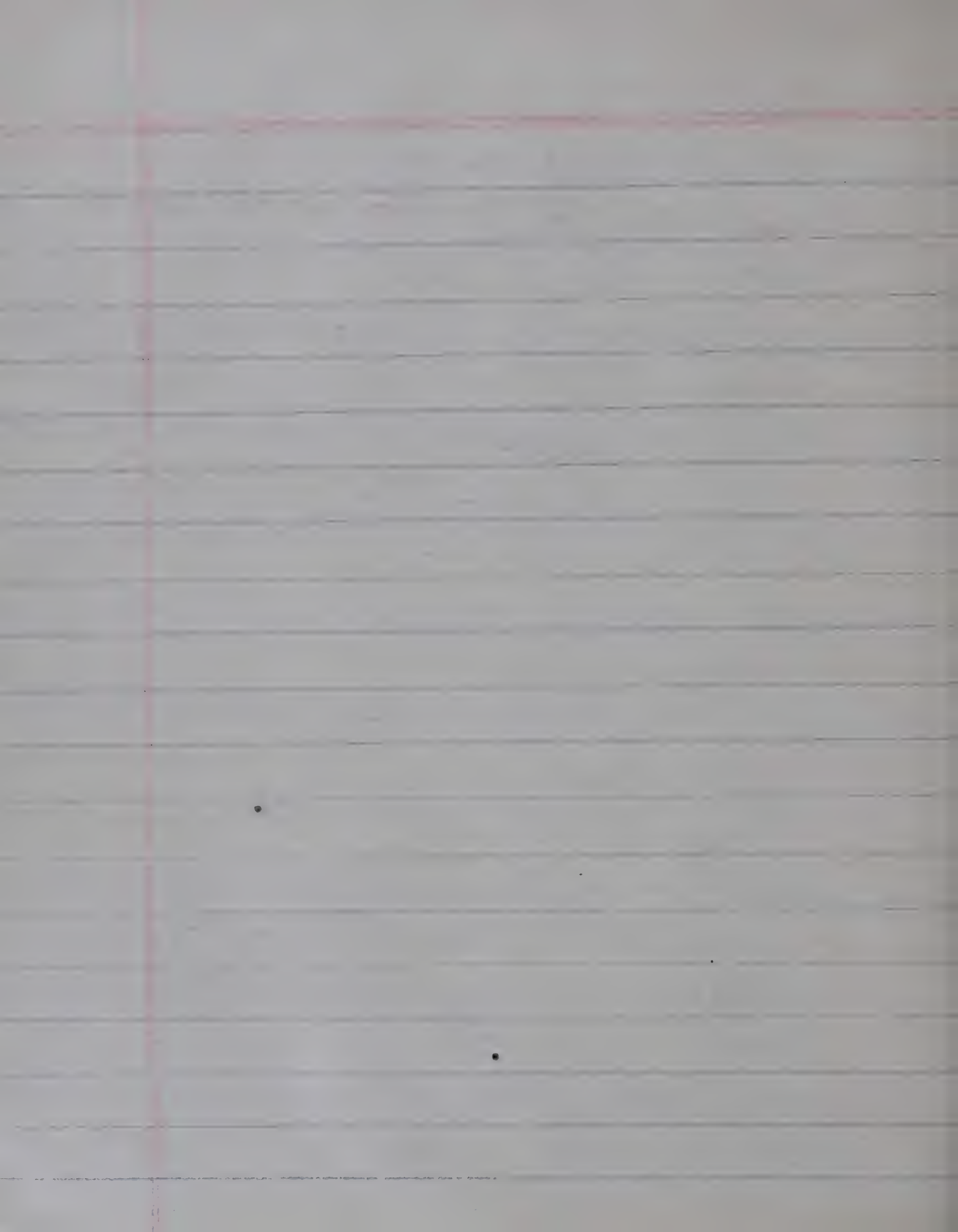
काष्ठासनं ब्रह्मणानां कुमारानां कुशासनम् etc .

But in the Dūtānākya, Duryodhana directs Drona to sit on a Kūrmāsana (tortoise seat), Bhishma (a Kṣattriya) to sit on a Simhāsana, Sākuni (another Kṣattriya) to sit on a Skin-seat and the rest to sit according to the availability of the seats in his Durbar Hall. But from this we cannot draw any inference as to relative priority.

Even the Sākāra similar to Mr Malaprop, described by both Bharata and Bhasa cannot determine their relative priority. Creating disgust by his deformed personality, and more deformed gait, extremely gaudily



dressed in too long clothes, and longer flower garlands, — above all walking defiantly — this is Bharata's description (II-147 to 150 — Baroda Edn. Vol II p 215). He was called by the peculiar name of Sākāra as he persisted in mispronouncing all श्रि , श्र and श as श्रि only; he is described as ^{being} easily excited, as being pleased also without any reason, and being of very loose morals. Abhinavagupta in his Commentary refers to a Mahākavi Bhīma — of whom nothing else is known — and his drama Pratipñāchānakya wherein also a Sākāra named Vindhyaaketu is similarly described. This apart, Bhasa and following him Śūdraka have described this Sākāra. The king's sister's husband, Samsthānaka as he calls himself in season and out of season, he proudly accosts Vasantasenā with these words and even demands that he should be loved for this very reason. In the Mr̥cchakatika, the Vīta, his loose and unscrupulous servant calls him श्रि श्रि श्रि: or the son of an unmarried (prostitute). We cannot say whether Bhasa created this character from his fertile brain. If it were so, his fame must really be unique. In *Cham I*. 16



he describes his Sākāra thus

आभिनयति वगांसि सर्वगात्रैः किमपि किमप्यनवेसितमिदम् ।

अनुचितगतिः अप्रगल्भवाक्यः पुरुषमयस्य पशोर्नवावतारः ॥

Every bodily movement is crooked and suggestive, he talks nonsensically, walks most unsteadily, of King's speech - he is the human embodiment of a beast! In the Avimāraka, the Vidūṣaka refers to a Nāṭya Śāstra and Keith in his Sanskrit Drama p 292. suggests that this might be a reference to Bharata. Just as the latter dealing with the Prākṛt languages spoken by the lower characters in the drama, does not refer to the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt, Bhāsa's dramas also do not make use of this Mahārāṣṭrian Prākṛt. Dandin in the 6th cen A.D has already bestowed the highest praise on this Prākṛt - प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः. This apart, already some critics have argued that Bhāsa himself must have been earlier, and what is more important, that he must have been the author of another Nāṭya Śāstra also. The fact that Bhāsa has praised Balarama, the tutelary deity of the Tamil stage in the Svapna Nāṇḍi is significant in this connection.

The Calcutta Department of Letters Vol XXIX published by the Calcutta University p25 contains an article by Sri M. Ghosh. Therein he has argued that Bhāsa has used two metres not taught by Bharata. Among them Indra Vjra + Upendra Vjra becomes Upajāti, and Bharata has dealt with these two individually (though not as upajāti) and 'Anupacchandāsika' is the only one extra not dealt with in Bharata (For the list of the metres of Bhāsa, Devadhar's appendix might be consulted). The writer's conclusion might be altered a bit and the relative priority deserves to be mentioned thus: Extra metres (as from Bharata) in Bhāsa 1

" in Kālidasa - 5

" in Aśvaghoṣa - 7

" in Bhaṭṭi - 8

" in Bhāranī - 10

" in Māgha - 22.

of course we have left out the epics as they must form a different category altogether. According to this, Bhāsa must be slightly later than Bharata.

Now let us compare the Devatāmandala in both forms.

bring that very scholar's classification with slight change
 Bhārata (Benares-chauk
 (on). Bhāsa (Devadha)

I Lower or Nīca gods

Nāgas (Serpent) - I 10, 63 etc; II 8, III
 27; IV 254; V 51.

Birds (like Jatāyu) - III 9, 29.

Watery Animals - I 88; III 7; IV 253

II Pīṭas - III 27, V 52

Bhūtas (or Supernatural spirits)

I 87, 92; II 8; IV 11; V 54; XXII 216

Rākṣasas - I 10, V 47; XXVII 216.

Pisāchas - I 92, III 27, XXII 216

Yakṣas - I 10, III 8.

Asuras - I 10, 63; II 18; V 46

XXII, 16; XXXIII 216.

Nāgalokā - Pātāla - Bālach I. 5.

Ikāyānāga - " IV.

Birds - Garuḍa - Viṣṇu's or Kṛṣṇa's
 vehicle - Bāla I. 21; Dūtakāya I. 53

Jatāyu, Pratiṃā II. 22.

Aquatic Animals - Samudra god
 appearing before dying heroes - appearing
 before Rāma just before bridge construction
 in Aśvīnaka.

Pīṭas - appear before dying Daśaratha
 Pratiṃā II end; Śrāddha in Pratiṃā

Bhūtas - Supreme Spirit = ॐ नमो भगवते
 विद्महे - Bālach II. 10.

Rākṣasas - Bālach I - Devadha 518p

Pisāchas "

Yakṣas - A female Yakṣiṇī named
 Avantimundari - Svapna V 563p

Viśvāśaras - Avim - V. 3 - 2 of them
 describe Rāma Rāvanayuddha in Aśhe
 VI.

Chāndālā Kanyās enter Kamsa's
 body - Bālach II.

Asuras = Suraripu in Karma-
 bhāra Nāndi.

III Dikpālas or quarter deities.

Sūrya I 62, 85; II 5; III 24

Chandra I 84; II 5; III 24; V 51

Itāsāsana = Agni III.

Yama I 90; II 6; III 26; V 253.

Varuna I 61; III 28; IV 253

Indra - I, II; III 24; IV 252

Lokapālas - I 85; III 5; V 50.

IV. Gandharvas. I 10; III 7; V 46

Apsarastriś - I 47; III 7; V 45.

Rāma IV. 252

Asvini - twin fods - III. 5.

Maruts - I 85; III 6

Rudras, I 87, III 6, 26

Visvadevas - III 26

Āditya I 87

Sūrya's horses - Karna Khāra 19.

Chandra = Soma - Pratimā V. 17.

Agni brought Sitā in Abhiseka III.

Avimāraka's father.

Yama = Sūrya putra - Pratimā V.

Varuna = Samudrarāja appears
before Rāma just before bridging
the sea.

Indra = Śakra - Pratimā V. 17; Madhyam
43; Īrubbhanga 35; Abhis I 3; II. 18

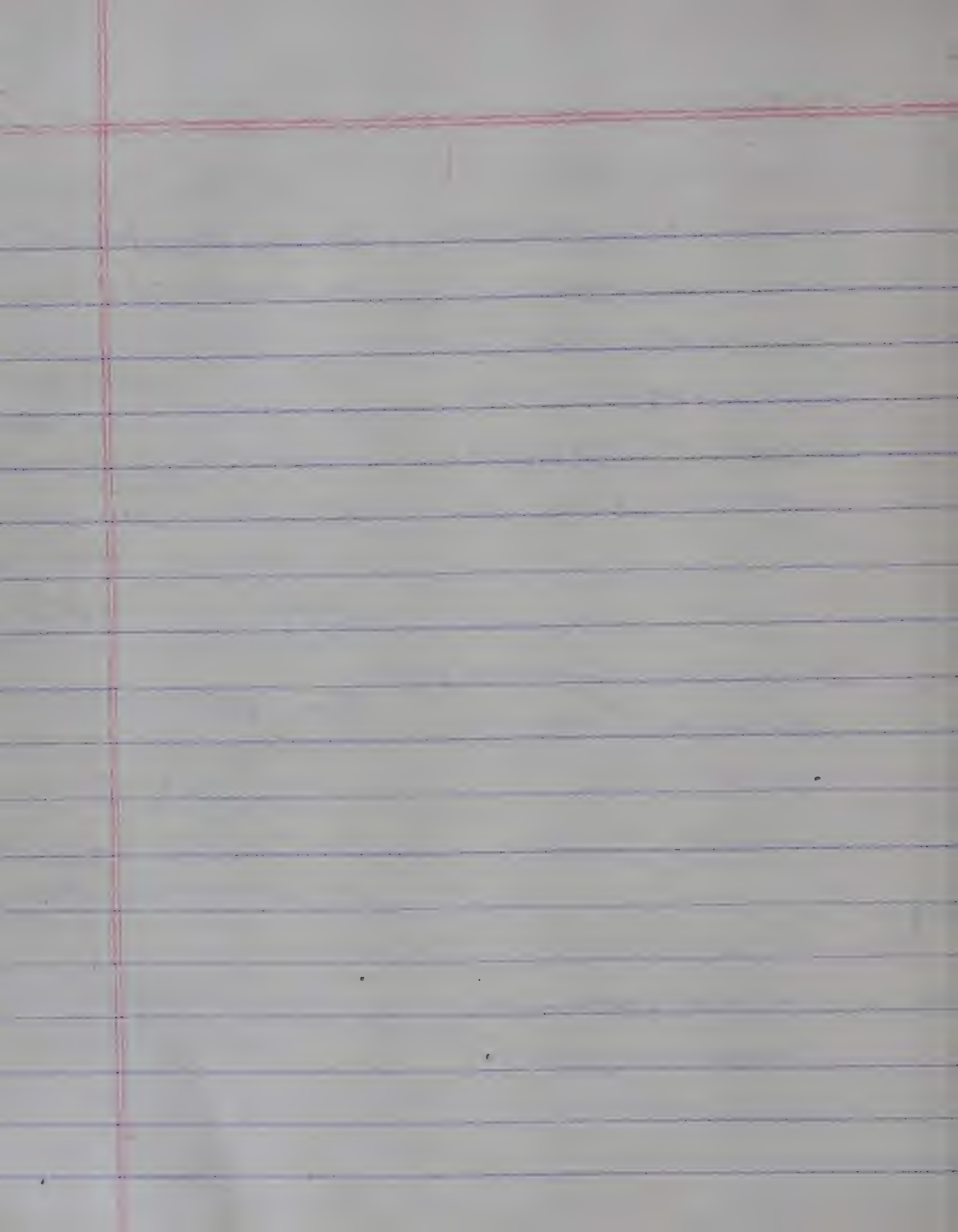
Dikpālas - four only - Pratimā V. 17
(later only they become eight).

Apsarastriś escort dhyūgheśas
to Vinasvarga - Abhis + Īrubbhanga

Rāma - Svapna IV. 1

Asviniś - Dūtā Vākya 19 (parents
of Nakula + Sahadeva).

Rudra - Bāla III. 12 = Siva -
Madhyam 43.



V Celestial seers

Brhaspati III 4; XXXIV 79; XXXV 52

Nārada - XXXVI + 6.

Nārada - Bāla I (beginning)

Avimāraḥ VI p 180.

VI Earthly sages

Baladeva - IV 254.

Balarama - Svapna I; Urukha

Nahusa - XXXV 60, 64, 67

Kaṇḍa Bhāṅgava - Avim VI. p. 170

Sanat Kumāra III. 31

Mathūka - Curses Kamsa - Bāla

VII Trimūrtis and their sons.

Brahma - I 61; III 4; IV 1; XXXIII 207.

Brahma - Madhyama 43.

Viṣṇu - I 62, IV 4, 251; V 100, XXXIII 207

Viṣṇu 11 43; Bāla II. 12

Śiva - I. 1, 93; IV 6, 6, 248; ²³⁸XXXIII 207

Śiva = Rudra = Hara Bāla III.

Madhyama 43; Akṣi. I. 3.

Kārttikeya - (Śiva's son) I 94; III 4

S'aktiśara = Kārttikeya, Pratijñā

II. 2; Bāla II. 22; Madhyama 43

Ganeśa (Śiva's son) - III 9 (?)

Ganeśa - Pratijñā I, III (?)

VIII Goddesses.

Sarasvatī. III 5, 25

Lakṣmī. III 5, 25; IV 252

Lakṣmī = Śrī - Kamsa's

Rājadri - Bāla CTI.

Uma = Pārvatī = Candikā III 251;

umā = Pārvatī - Pancha II. 44

V 53, IV 246.

= Kārttyāyanī appears

before Kamsa - Bāla II. 20.

Siddhi, Medhā, Smṛti, Mati III. 5

Niyati, I. 90; III. 6

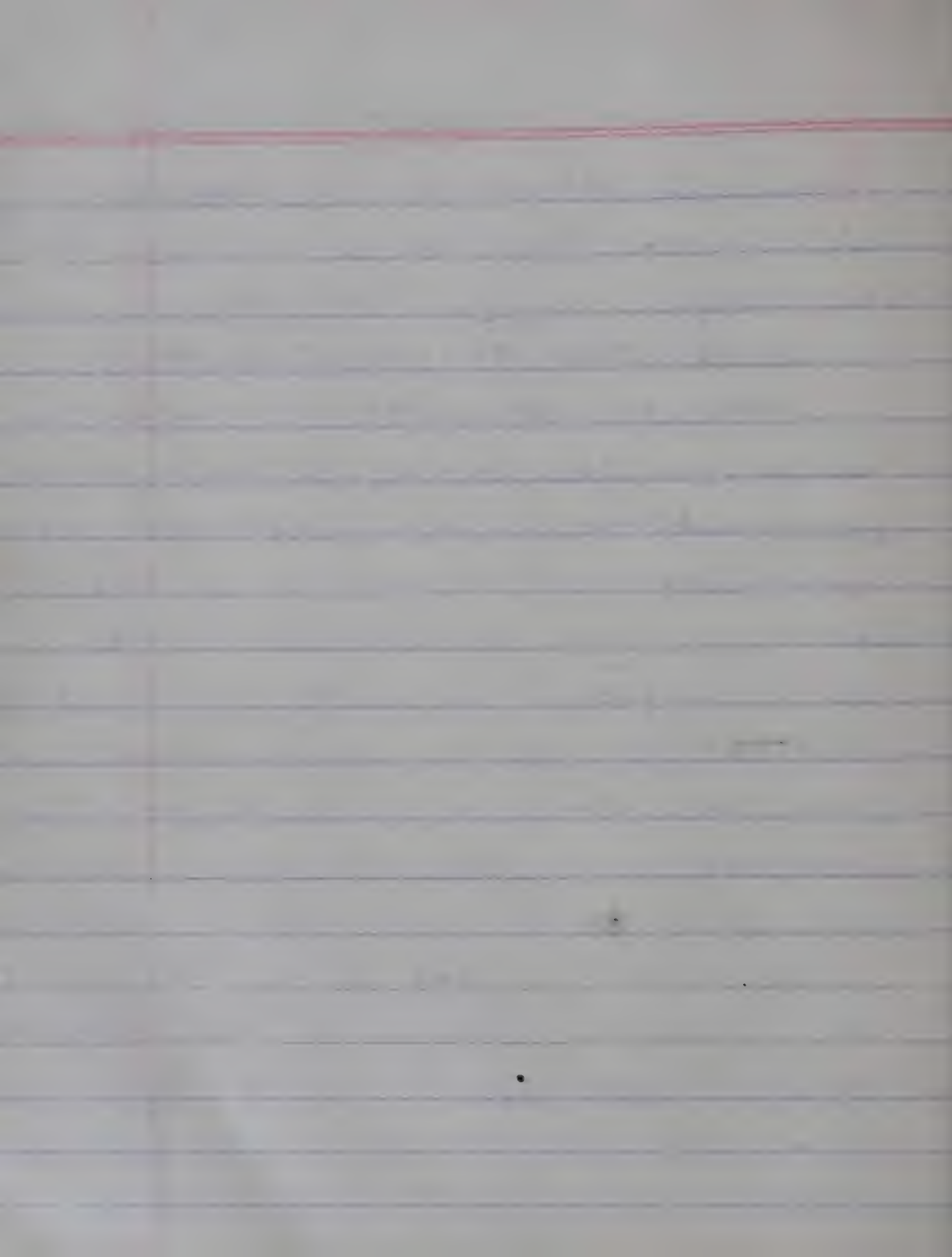
This correspondence in parallel columns convinces us that the devatā-maṇḍala in both is practically the same. If some individual god is omitted it is but accidental. In this connection, it must be clearly stated that the inclusion of Gaṇapati is not correct as already stated by me in an article in the Mythic Society Journal New series Vol XLI on the Gaṇapati cult. The word गणेश in Nāṭyaśāstra III 9 is commented on by Abhinavagupta as Gaṇapati and Dr. Gaṇapati Sastriar explains that the Brahman in Pratijñā III refers also this very god. But as against this it must be asserted that there is no reference to Gaṇapati in the modern sense prior to about the 5th cen A.D. That is why we inserted a question mark in our list as against this god. Bhaṣa remarks for example गृहमित्थं भगवोऽं गणं आत्मिकं (Abhiseka VI. 4), गृहमित्थं भगवोऽं गणं (Abhiseka VI. 4), गृहमित्थं भगवोऽं गणं (Abhiseka I. 23) and in all these places, it is obvious that गणेश cannot refer to the modern Gaṇapati god.

Some four or five centuries after Bhaṣa, the Puranic votaries began to worship Śiva and Viṣṇu excluding ~~Brahma~~

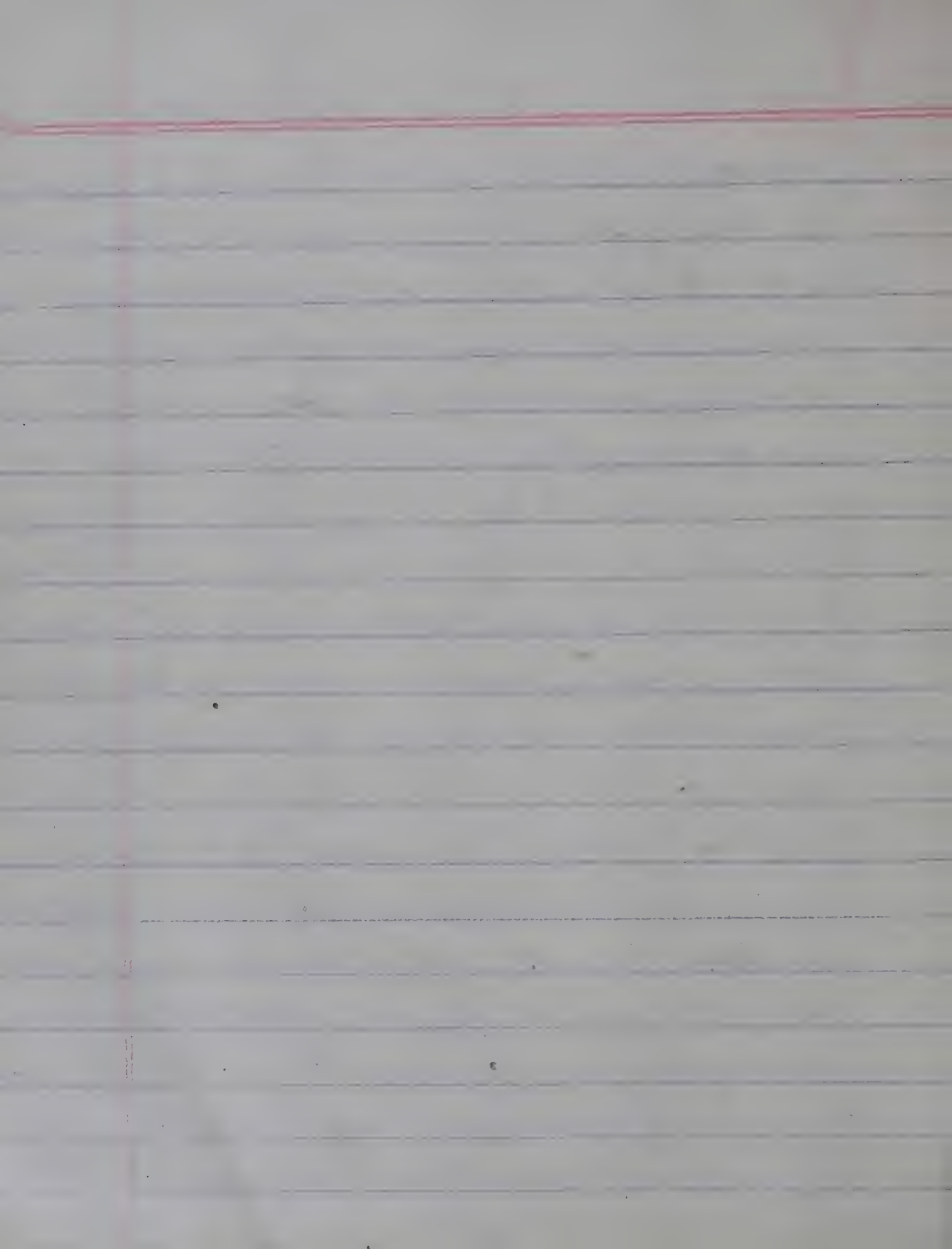
Brahma from their worship. It looks as though in Bharat
or Bharastime, Brahma was also worshipped along
with Visnu or Siva. In this Connection, the 43rd Verse of
the Madhyama Vyāyoga is noteworthy:-

विश्वकर्मा इवः शक्रः विष्णुः शक्तिधरो यमः ।

एतेषु कथं केन ते सदृशः पिता? - Here the
names of the gods starting with Brahma is signi-
ficant. But even in that remote period, Hari and Hara
had already tried to make Indra the king of the gods
and this process ended with these very gods becoming
the highest gods in their pantheon. The Verse. ~~हृरिहृराविव~~ (Abhiseka I. 3) is significant in this Connection.
In due course of time, it was found by the Purānic
priests that Brahma indiscriminately granted boons
to their favourites' enemies, the Rākṣasas and caused
infinite trouble to the gods; when the latter prayed to
them for succour, Brahma quietly replied - ~~विप्रवृक्षेति~~
~~संवर्ध स्वयं वृक्षं मम प्रसंग~~ - It is not proper for myself to
cut a poisonous tree even after having once planted it
himself. It was found in the end that they had to be



rescued either by Viṣṇu or Śiva and so it was only
 natural that they exalted them alone as against
 all other gods. In Bharavi's dramas, references can
 be found either to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and his incarn-
 ations Vāmana, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Narasimha and Varāha;
 it looks as though the other incarnations to make up
 the figure ten were included in the Puranas only about
 3 or 4 centuries later. Sri R. C. Hazra in his Puranic
 Records and Customs remarks - "The Matsya
 Purana (54) includes Buddha among the ten incarnations
 of Viṣṇu. Mārkaṇḍeya (4) mentions avatāras beginning
 with Varāha and ending with Mathurākṛṣṇa but
 does not mention Buddha. The Hari Vamśa does not
 mention Buddha but mentions Kalki. Brahme Purāṇa
 agrees with Mārkaṇḍeya and Hari Vamśa. Jayābhya
 Saṃhitā of about 450 A.D. of the Pāncarātra school
 does not refer to the Buddha. The mention of the Buddha
 in the Gitagovinda, the Daśāvatāra Carita of Kṣemendra,
 a hymn of Nammāḷvar and Saint Śaṅkara,
 Viṣṇu Purana and a Pallava inscription besides Sri



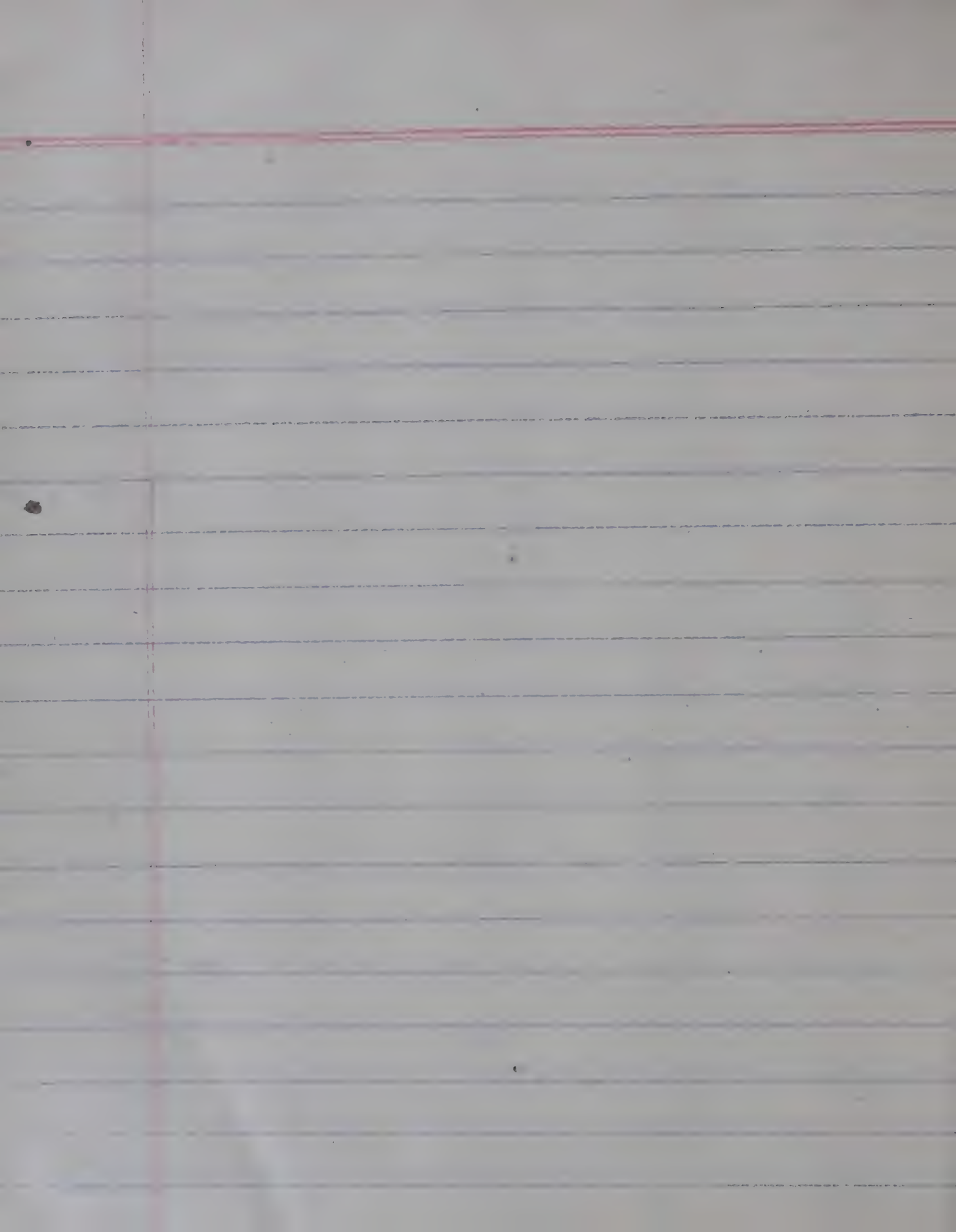
Śaṅkara's inclusion shows that this avatāra was
 admitted in orthodox circles by the 7th cen. A.D. and
 probably by about 550." Bhaṣa does not refer to Fish,
 Tortoise and Buddha incarnations; whether Paraśurāma
 was glorified into an incarnation or not by him is doubt-
 ful. Bālaśaṅkara Nāṇḍi refers to Nārāyaṇa in the first
 line assigning him to the Treta yuga, but it is not clear
 to whom he refers there. But it is quite clear that the Avatāra
 conception had been already fully understood by the
 Paurāṇic votaries and Bhaṣa declares that the same God
 incarnated in different yugas as different persons, the
 same God killing Vairocana, Bali and Rāvaṇa (Bāla
 Bali I. 4 refers to the battles between gods and asuras
 almost daily. Dūtaśaṅkara Nāṇḍi refers to the
 hundreds of tricks employed by Viṣṇu off and
 on for the protection of the world - त्रिभुवनैकपरायणः
 उपायशतशुक्तिकरः. Īrulāṅga 35 refers to Kṛṣṇa
 as having already become the jagatām priya or
 the favourite of the world. His 8 hands are already
 referred to in Dūtaśaṅkara 8, and His special weapons

Sārngga, Kaumodaki, Sānkha, Nandaka and
 His vehicle Gaṇḍa are referred to in *Balaṭhita*
 and *Dūta Vākya* (of course in the interpolated scene
 of the latter). Kṛṣṇa's Sānkha is not as yet glorified
 by the title Pāncajānya; it is simply referred to
 as being lifted by Viṣṇu Himself from the milk
 ocean. *संक्रान्तिः स्यात्तु तः* Bala I. 25; the
 story in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I, Adhyāya 45
 according to which it was fashioned out of the
 bone of Pāncajānya, a fish that Kāṇḍa swallowed.
 His teacher Sāndipani's child is evidently unknown
 to Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism* opines that
 Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa were the only two
 Vyūhas referred to in the most ancient inscriptions
 of about the 1st Cen A.D., the other two Vyūhas coming
 in only later, by about the 6th Cen. From this it is
 quite clear that the name of our drama Pāncarātra
 has nothing to do with the Pāncarātra philosophy
 which came to be perfected in the *Jayākhyā Smṛitī*
 of about 450 A.D. and which referred to all the four

Vyutas of Visnu. Sri M. Ghosh (whose article on Bharata in the Calcutta University Department of Letters was referred to earlier) argues rather wrongly that Kṛṣṇa worship had not started as yet in that period. That very scholar, in page 18 of the article referred to, quotes some Prākṛit Verses of the Nāṭya Sāstra wherein we read among other things - Kṛṣṇa changes to Kanka in Prākṛit, Yakṣa into fakṣha. Of course, the reading adopted in the N.S. Edition (as also in the Baroda Edition) is uṣṇam becomes uhvam, but the Baroda Edn. refers to a 'da' mess collated by the Editor Mr Kari which reads कृष्णं कृष्णं. This may be doubtful enough, but throughout the Nāṭya Sāstra, there is no reference to Kṛṣṇa anywhere else. Visnu might be referred to Padma-nātha, Nārāyaṇa, Janārdana, Śaṅkṛtama, but the last word is also used to refer to Śiva and Hutaśāna. N.S. Edn. XVI. 76 refers to Visnu:

विष्णुः सृजति श्रूतानि, विष्णुः संहस्ते प्रजाः ।

विष्णु प्रसूतं त्रैलोक्यं, विष्णुर्लोकान्निदैवतम् ॥



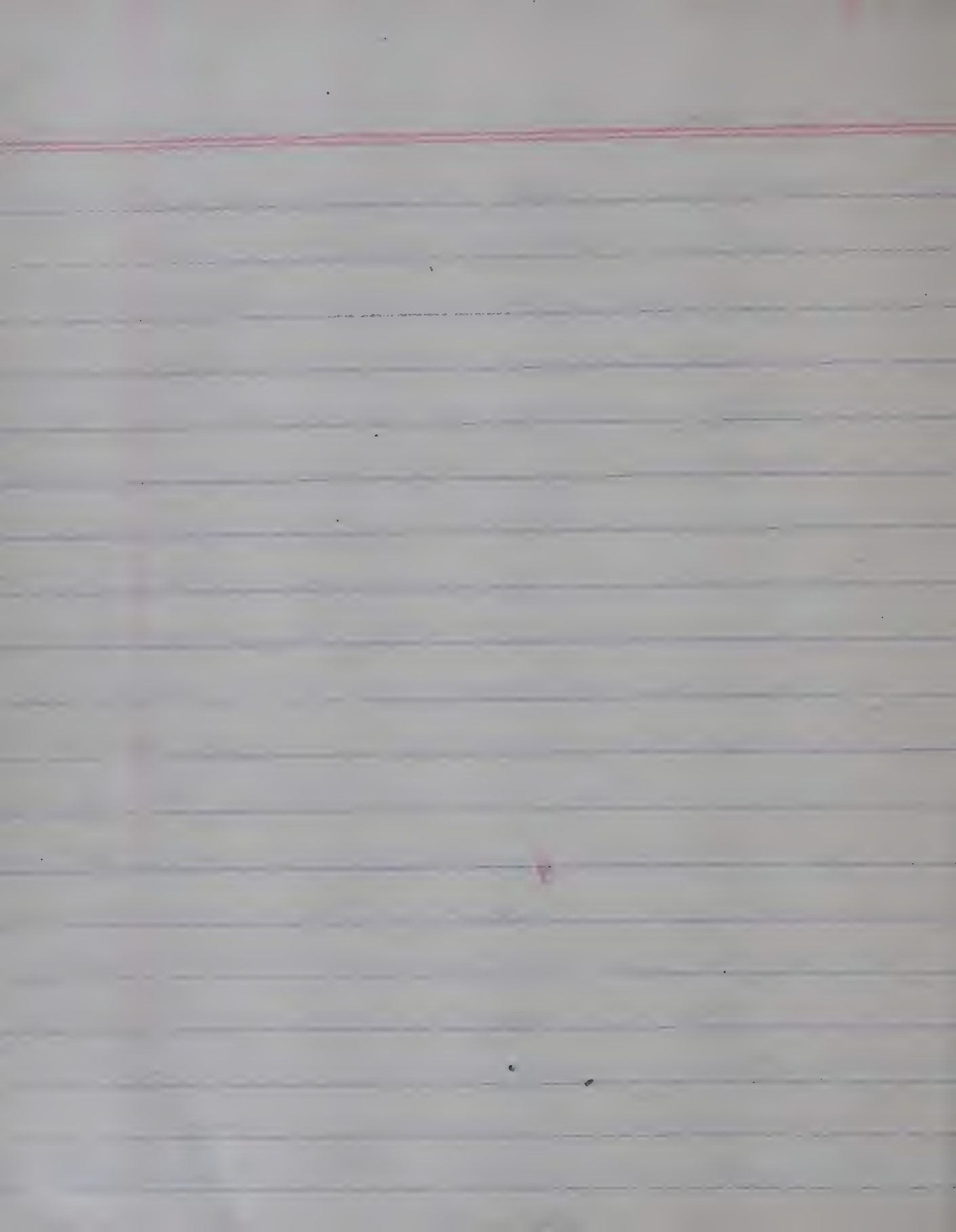
as creating, protecting and destroying the worlds.

Balarama is also worshipped in an alliterative
Complet in Matvey chapter 82 -

हली वली कली माली झूली जाली कली जली
बलो बलो बलो लो लो मुसली वाभिरक्षतु ॥

but Kṛṣṇa, the younger brother not being referred
is really intriguing. Perhaps this Saiva of the North
might have purposely omitted any reference to
the Southerner Kṛṣṇa who was just then coming into
prominence from the South. Bhasa, perhaps a gene-
ration later glorifies Him in the Īrubbhaṅga 35
as jagatām prīyat and dedicated the Bālaśanta
entirely to Him, while the Northerner Bhaṇa refers
to His various Vibhūti's or manifestations, studiously
avoiding reference to Him by name. All the verses
in the chapter on Metrics or ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ glorify
only Śiva and not a verse refers to Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.
He takes care to ask the actors to worship Brahma
and Śiva in the Pūrvārāṅga ceremony.

Possibly both flourished in 3rd cen B.C., Bharata in the first half in the North and Chasa in the latter half in the South.



V chapter - Kautilya and Bhāsa.

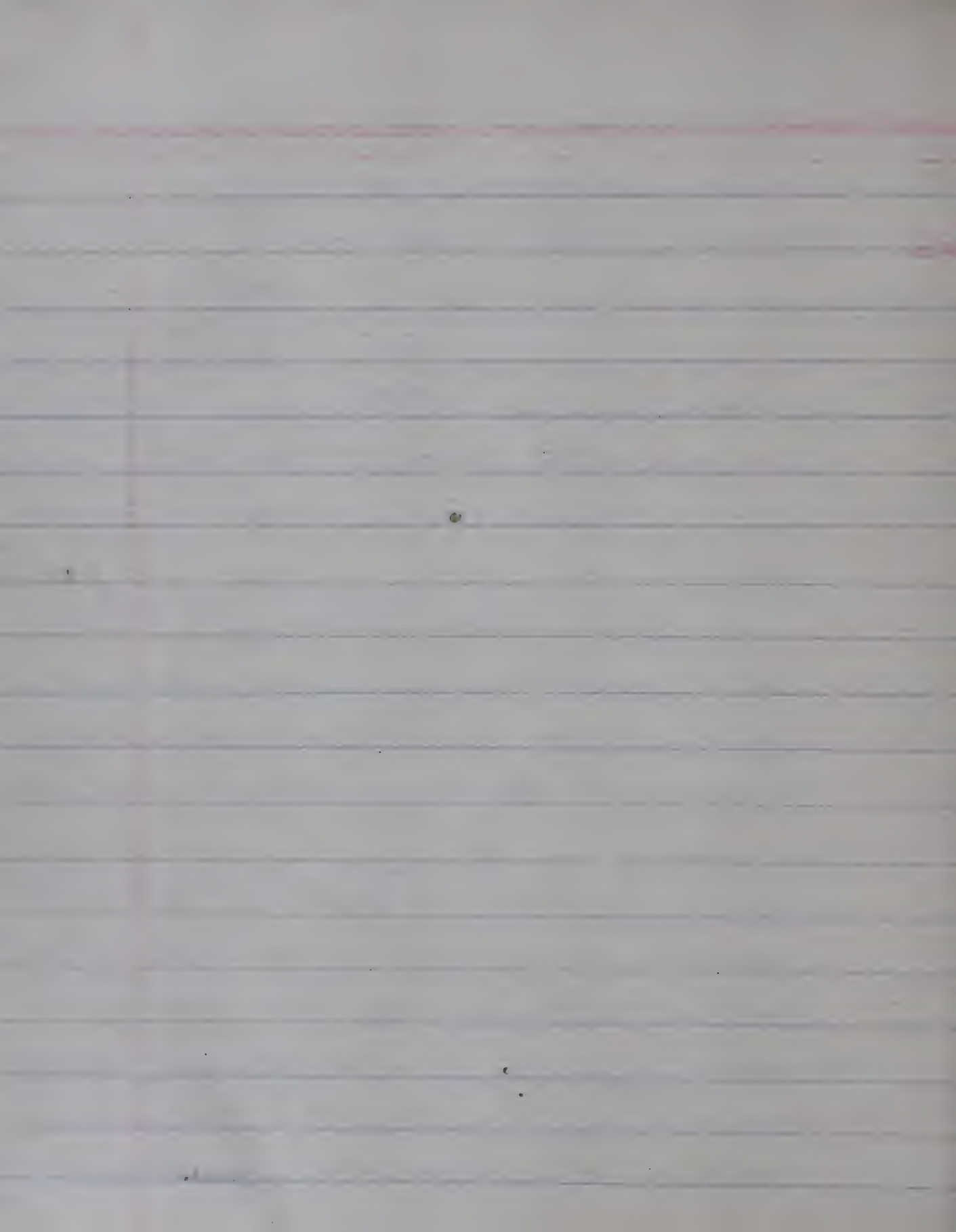
Though Kautilya was a writer on Arthasāstra he is also revered almost as highly as the Ancient Smṛitīkāras like Gaṇtama, Āpastamba, Manu, Yājñavalkya and Mev. Bhāsa imbibed their ideas fully and even reflected their ideas in style, more particularly that of Kautilya. He seems to have lived in this very period, soon after Gaṇtama and Āpastamba (of about the 5th Cen B.C.) and Kautilya (of the 3rd Cen B.C.); Manu and Yājñavalkya might have come chronologically after them somewhere in the beginning of the Christian Era.

Perhaps just then, these Dharmaśāstra writers insisted on the social rules of prostration by youngsters before the elders who had necessarily to pronounce a blessing in return. Any social custom, if introduced for the very first time, particularly among a simple and Godfearing people, becomes extremely popular soon (though a reaction naturally sets in after some time). Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya I Āṅkika refers to the way

in which people who did not know how to bless properly, on being prostrated to were ridiculed as being women (illiterate). In these dramas of Bhāsa, we see the insistence of this blessing soon after prostration. For example, in the *Dūtāghatot Kachh*, after Alhimanyu's death, the supremely happy Duryodhana and others, exulting over their success, come and prostrate before his blind father; but the latter, who has just heard Arjuna's terrible vow, purposely keeps mum and the juniors are terribly perturbed and the father, with tears trickling down his eyes, replies 'When one daughter, better than even the 100 sons, is doomed to be a widow through the fault of sons, how can the blessing be of any value?—
 सुत पुत्रशतद्विशिष्ट । स वै सुतानां भवतां प्रमादात् वैधव्यं
 अक्षाद्यमवाप्स्यति इति ॥ (p. 464 *Sevadhar*). Similarly in the *Karna Bhāra*, Indra comes disguised as a Brahmin before Karna, with the definite purpose of depriving the latter of his earrings and armour so that Arjuna might easily kill him. Karna prostrates and if Indra pronounces the usual benediction, the very purpose for

which he has come would be frustrated. Though non-plussed for a second, Indra cleverly pronounces the benediction on the यशः काय or the body of fame of Kama, though not on his mortal physical body. He says 'May your fame last as long as the Sun, the moon, Himavān and the oceans!' - सूर्य इव, चन्द्र इव, हिमवान् इव, सागर इव तिष्ठतु ते यशः - (1486).

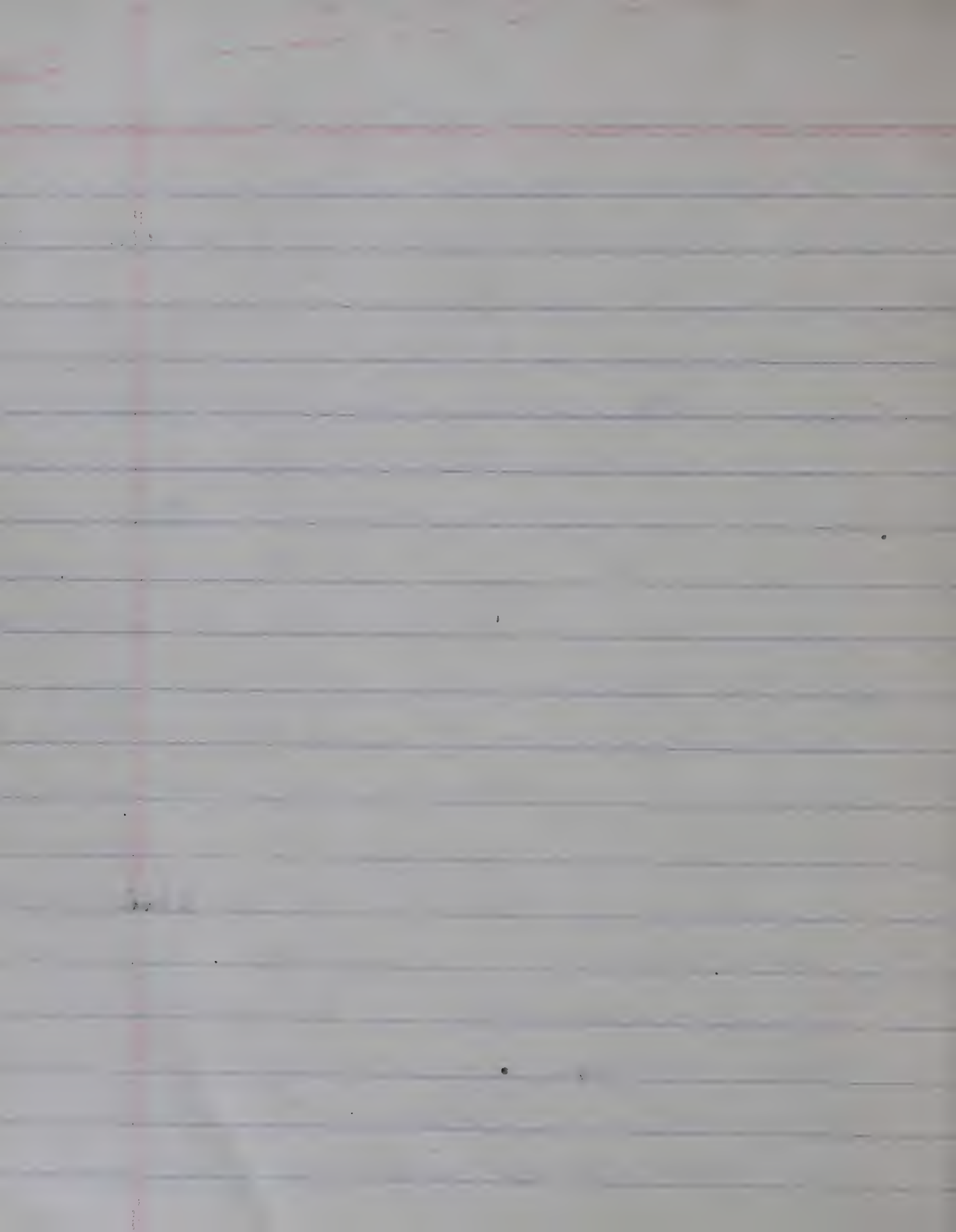
Similarly, soon after an impure act, like sneezing or weeping, or after touching unclean things like a corpse, Suddhācāmana or holy sipping of the water is enjoined in the Dharmasāstra and this is strictly followed in all the required places in these dramas, Pañcārātra, Bālakrita, Pratinidhik. In Duryodhana insults Krishna in the Dūtāvatā calling him abhāṣya. This last word reminds one of the Sūtra of Gaṇtama - न क्लेशाश्च यथार्थिकः सह संभाषेत संभाष्य वा पुण्यकृते मनसा ध्यायेत्, प्रादुर्भावेन वा संभाषेत. Krishna had killed the Mlecchas, abhūktas or impure rākṣasas, and particularly Pūtana, horses, elephants and wrestlers which are specially prohibited



in the Dharmasāstra and the particular word सं+भ्रातृ used by both Gautama and Bhāṣa is significant. Similarly if we remember Vāli cohabiting with his younger brother's wife - a mahāpātaka or heinous sin according to Dharmasāstra, we must remember

ज्येष्ठो यवीयरो भार्यो यवीयान् वाग्न जास्त्रियम्
पातिरो भवतो गत्वा नियुक्तावयनापदि ॥ Manu

In the same way, when Sajjalaka starts even his nefarious stealing, he must start with the इष्टुष्टुष्टु and worship of the relevant gods (p. 141). The treatise on theft is by one Kharapata (whose name is spelt with a double t. in Kautilya p. 219 Mysore). Bāṇa also refers to him as one of the foremost of thieves. Sāmbara and Mahākāla (worshipped by Arimāraka appear to be other specialists in the art of the thief. As if such references to Dharmasāstra were not enough, Bhāṣa uses other words in the particular sense in which they would be used in administration of justice in a court. The word dhanika which usually means a rich man



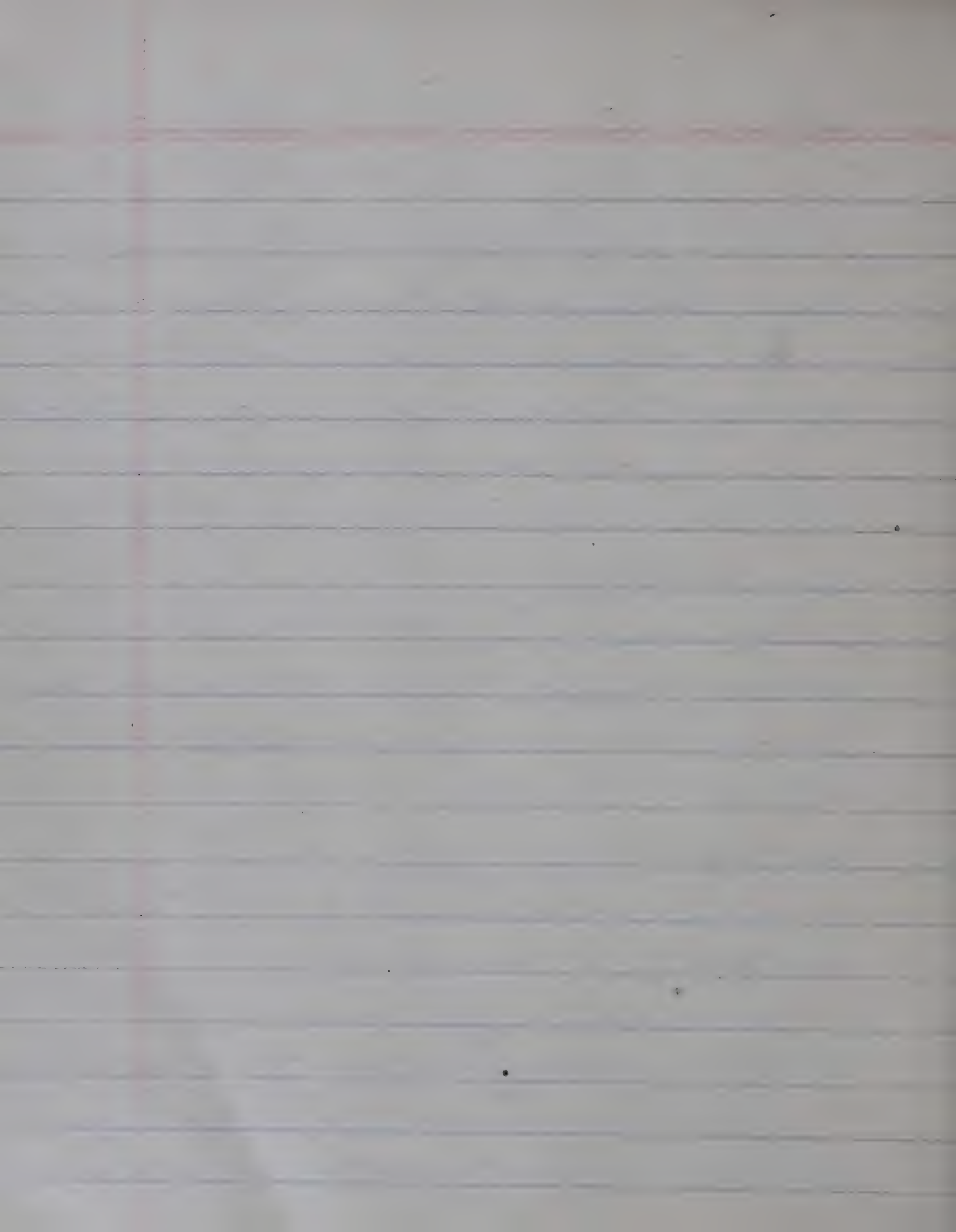
is used in the extraordinary sense of a creditor; the word शतृपिण्ड denotes a greedy miser, a sense which is completely uncurrent nowadays. (Pancharatra I. 22). We have another word शरीरिण in Pratinā T. 10 and the sense is that enjoined in the Dharmasāstras, wife. The religious sanctity of the trust property is another thing known only to the pre-Christian writers like Bhāsa or Kālidāsa. This peculiar word शरीर is dealt with only in pre-Christian Indian writers like Gautama, Kautilya, and also by the contemporary Greek historians like Megasthenes. This last historian refers to the way in which Indians have no litigation ~~on~~ account of such trust properties evidently because such properties were highly revered by both parties. These did not require any witnesses nor were they sealed. Slaves were not also found in the Hindu society of the times as Kautilya remarks - शरीरं शरीरं and Āpastamba (II. 6. 13. 10. 11) also prohibits the slavery of the wife, daughter or a son. Madhyama Vyāsa 18th Verse referring to 'Pratinā'

17

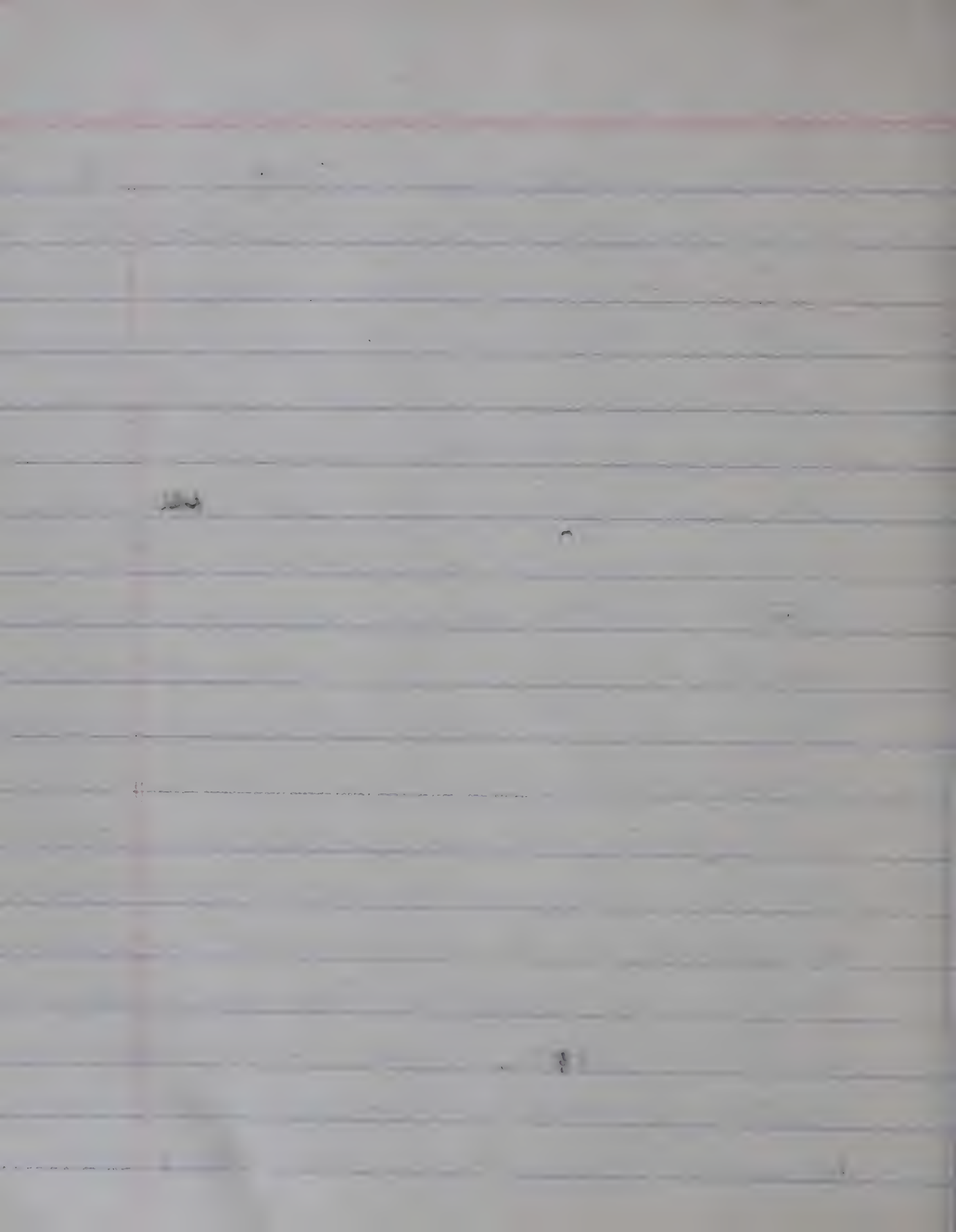
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19

Vedins' might have such Smṛtikāras in view. Nārada in his Smṛti III 12 says - योऽपि हृतं तस्मै सगुणं उपासीता दण्डयेत् । न दण्डयेत् तस्मात्स न संहरति किञ्चित् ॥ This can definitely make us think that if Bhasa had flourished after him his ~~Kā~~ Rudatta could easily take shelter under this protecting clause and could have saved his prestige by simply proclaiming that the prostitute's jewels were stolen away. Evidently, with the advent of the Kali Yuga which we believe, is almost coeval with the beginning of the Christian Era, this 'trust-property' pledging almost dropped out of use. Till then, there seems to have existed separate law courts even where such properties could, necessary be redeemed and restituted to the original or rightful owners. To come to our pertinent case, if, for example Kaikeyi ^{had} applied to such a court proving that the Kingdom was hers as it had been promised to her at the time of the marriage, such special courts could even ex parte decide in her favour and Dasaratha would have had to meekly submit. Kalidasa refers to this practice only twice or thrice and we



are led to infer that the importance of such pledges was slowly disappearing. But Bhāsa starts his *Chāṇḍaḍḍa* and *Śvapnavasavadatta* with these 'pledged properties' and even in the *Pratimā*, this pledging is one of the most important episodes. In Kautilya and Bhāsa, this redeeming of the trust property is essential; Kautilya refers to the witnesses in whose presence this redeeming is to be done as ३५४४१२: or eye witnesses Sam ear witnesses and Bhāsa in *Pratimā* १२ characterises them as १२३४५६७८९०. In the formal presence of such accredited custodians of the traditions of the Raghu race like Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva, and Sumantra and with their fullest approval, the Kingdom is offered back to Rama and Kaikeyi vindicates herself. Such trust property did not carry any interest and even if it was demanded at midnight, it had to be surrendered without demur. When they were pledged and taken back, they had to be attested by ^{persons who were} १२३४५६७८९० (= trusted) ३५४१२: (= honest) and ३५४१२: (= approved by both parties) according to Kautilya. In the *Śvapna* drama also, when the pledged property named



Vāsavadattā in disguise is redeemed, Udayana says
 साक्षिमन्मासो निर्घातयितव्यः reminding us of Kautilya III.
 साक्षिमत् अश्नन् कुर्यात्. It so happens (in the drama) that
 such attestors are the Kāndukin and the Dhātṛī, who
 have nursed Vāsavadattā from her infancy (who had come
 with a sorrowful message from Queen Angaravati) and their
 findings convert the tragedy into a comedy!

Baudhāyana, Gautama (prior to Kautilya), and
 Manu among the Smṛtikāras rank the Kṣetrajāputra
 second among the twelve kinds of sons, but Kautilya
 puts the putrikāputra (daughter's son) second and pushes
 the Kṣetrajā to the third place. Bhāṣa follows Kautilya's
 lead and even imitates his language when he makes
 Śrīyodhana question the legality of the birth of the king
 calling them parātmajas, or sons of others (and not of his
 uncle Pāṇḍu). Kautilya in the context contrasts स्वयंजात or
 legitimate son with parajāta or Kṣetrajā - स्वयंजातः
 कृतक्रियायां (in the wedded wife) औरसः, तेन तुल्यः पुत्रिकापुत्रः,
 स्वगोत्रेण अन्यगोत्रेण वा नियुक्तेन (= specially appointed for
 raising a progeny) क्षेत्रजातः क्षेत्रजः पुत्रः... स्वयंजातः

पितृवक्ष्यन्ते च दायदाः, परजातः संस्कर्तुः एव न वक्ष्यन्ताम्. Bhasa

seems to paraphrase this when he says:

धर्मात्मनो वायुस्तुतश्च भीमो भ्रातार्जुनो मे त्रिदशेन्द्ररत्नः ।

यमौ च तव चिरुतो विनीतो सर्वे स भृत्याः कुशलोपपन्नाः ॥ Here

the insinuation is according to Kautilya's text, that the Pāṇḍavas are परजात, born of the respective gods, and so they are the dāyādas or inheritors of the paternal estates of the gods only; Duryodhana even insists that they should not perform Shrāddhas for his uncle Pāṇḍu. Dharmasāstra Karas who came after, viz, Hārita, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Nārada and Manu assign the second place to the पुत्रपुत्र, but following Kautilya's lead, Yājñavalkya and Devaala push him to the third place, putting putrikāputra there. Bhasa follows this stand ~~or~~ going in Duryodhana's mouth देवात्मजैः मनुष्याणां ^{कथं की} वक्ष्यन्ते भवेत् - Dīptavākya 30; This particular argument was so formidable that even Manu a little later was forced to roundly condemn niyoga in IX. 64. Here Bhasa's word वक्ष्यन्ते is a technical word legally referring to fitness for offering obsequial libations and pindas. It is again interesting to note that Duryodhana

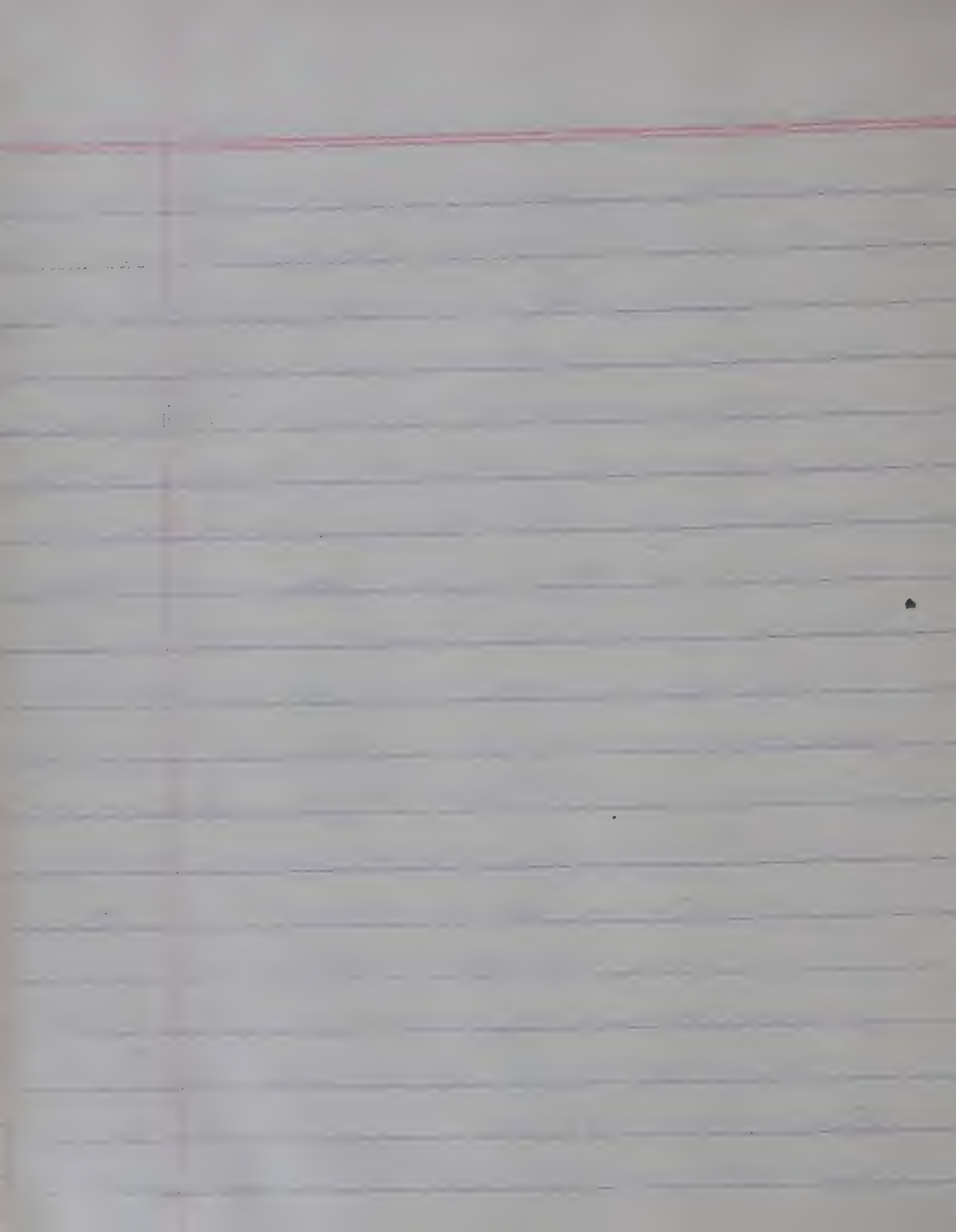
who argued thus for argument's sake under the
 advice of his cunning advocates generals Śākuni, Karna
 and the rest, says after their death in the Urukhaṅga,
 with his thighs broken to his son Durjaya 'दृष्ट्वा चैव युधि
 शिरसा विपुलं शौम्यपुत्रं भुजं । देवं पाप्मसु तैस्तवामम
 समं नामावसाने जलम् ॥ This is practically confessing that
 i.e. Kṣatriya sons
 they had not lost their pītṛ tarpanādhikāra as yet,
 and it was only Brhaspati, who, sometime later,
 (after Bhāsa) put it in the statute book that the Kṣatriya son definitely
 could not perform obsequial offerings.

The 16th Verse in Dūtashatokaśa - दूता शत
 शतादिशिष्टा - praising the daughter as being better
 than even 100 sons - seems to remind us of Yāska's
 Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa III.3 where he refers to दुहित
 दाम्पत्य, daughters who could inherit paternal property
 yāska, in the 7th or 8th C. B.C., could legally refer to
 such daughters who had not lost their वंशम् or fitness
 to perform obsequial libations. The later Smṛti Kāṇḍas
 like Manusmṛti round about the beginning of the Chris-
 tian Era, or rather, more correctly, their interpreters like

the writers of lawdigests like Vijnanesvara, roundly declare that the daughter could not perform these ceremonies for the father. But in Bhase's time, the woman could inherit her father's property, could possess independently of her husband large estates or treasure as *Ekharudatta's* wife could own the invaluable pearl necklace costing millions when her husband had practically been adjudged insolvent. The 17th Verse in that drama makes a pertinent statement - अर्थाः गृहणी नारी या नारी सार्धतः पुमान् - That a woman could in effect become a man with her large wealth. Similarly the 5th Verse of the *Pratimā* goes a step further in declaring that the woman had not as yet been clubbed with the *Sūdra* in the matter of benighted religious rites - वार्षिकं च प्रोक्तः एतत् अमंत्रातिद्वैतः. This last bit is very important, the *Sūdra* could not recite mantras while offering worship - his priests will have to do it for him; while a woman could easily do so by herself. This is practically the Vedic social custom according to which a woman also had

her upanayana initiation for Vedic studies, exact like men (cf पुराकल्पे तु गरीणां गो जीवमनमिष्ये). Even in the 7th cen A.D. Bāṇa's महाश्वेता was यज्ञोपवीतं पवित्रीकृतकाया). So it is undoubted that in Bhāsa's time, women could own considerable properties, and perform spiritual or religious rites without any hindrance or even association with men as now. Even prostitutes like Hidimbā and Vasantasenā were taught moral ways of life. If on one or two occasions Kaikeyi or Sītā behaved rather unworthily, Bhāsa cleverly introduces slight deviations and paints their characters as ideal women. Just as the women in the śrīparva of the Mahābhārata perform śtarpanas or obsequial offerings to their husbands in the Kurupāṇḍava war, and performed their daily prayers, so also in Bhāsa, they participated in such religious functions; Dharmaśāstrins had not prohibited them at all.

Now let us consider the word 'madhyama'. It has become a fashion to say that the story of the Madhyama Vyāyoga was inspired by the



story of S'inas'ēpa in the Atitāreya Brāhmaṇa.
 But the fact seems to be different. Gautama (500
 in his Dharmasūtra had legislated that the middle
 son should receive blind or one-eyed bulls, tail-
 less bulls, old bulls and similar unwanted
 furniture only after the eldest and youngest
 had chosen stronger bulls and furniture.
 To remove this injustice to him by spotlighting
 it as it were, we wish to urge, Bhāsa wrote
 his drama, more or less in the way in which
 a modern writer might ridicule the dowry
 system by holding up to public gaze its
 evil effects. Let me quote the context fully
 to prove my point: उर्ध्वं पितुः पुत्राः त्रिवर्षं
 भजेरन्, निवृत्तौ रजसि मातुः, जीवति वाइवति.
 सर्वं वा पूर्वजस्य, इतरान् विभ्रयात् पितृवत्.
 विभागे तु धर्मवृद्धिः । विंशतिभागे ज्येष्ठस्य,
 मिथुनमुद्भयतो द्युक्तौ रथाः गोवृषः, अयं
 अक्षरः ज्येष्ठस्य, मिथुनं गोमिथुनम्, उभयतो
 दत्तः अर्धश्चतस्रर्धभाः तेषां यथासंभवं अन्य-

तमानो मुक्तः स्था. गोवृषश्च। काण रोर कृत्वष्टा।
 मधुमसा अनेकाः जेत ॥ ^{Commentary 28. 1. 8.} The Commentator explains
 the underlined words which only are important
 from our point of view - काण = one-eyed; रोर =
 old (रोरटे (another reading = wanting in one leg).
 कृटे = hornless, तष्टे = tailless. He also adds that
 these also might refer to cows, horses, mules, or
 asses as might have been owned by the father.
 The rest of the Commentary follows on in the same
 strain but enough has been quoted. To explain
 the relevant points at issue; one view is that the
 eldest should receive the entire patrimony after the
 father's death, he alone being directed to maintain
 the younger brothers like a father. According to
 another view, however, the eldest should receive
 a $1\frac{1}{2}$ share in excess over the younger ones,
 perhaps in consideration of his catering to the
 spiritual family obsequies relating to the dead
 in the family. In the latter case, the eldest was
 directed to choose the very best among the things,

axe, etc; the next best would have to be then
 selected as his share by the 'youngest'; after that he
 had selected their portions, the middle one had
 naturally to satisfy himself with one eye, old
 legless (or wanting in a leg), tailless, or hornless
 animals and similarly defective furniture
 like tables and chairs. The reason is not far to
 seek: the eldest and the youngest catered full
 to the obsequial rites and the 'mathyama' had
 simply to look on and so it was quite obvious
 that he should receive lesser share in his father's
 property. Kautilya (3rd cen B.C.) also followed the
 lead when he declared III. 6. कर्त्तव्यं तु १: मर्यामांशः
 that the mathyama's share related only to things ^{inanimate}
 (or rather 'blind' animals to be more precise). Bharata
 also in the context has referred to the current Dharma
 sastra view when saying वेत्तुः पितृसहः. The father
 in (spiritual) difficulties is helped across by his
 eldest son. Similarly the mother's attachment is
 instinctively towards her youngest (or in some

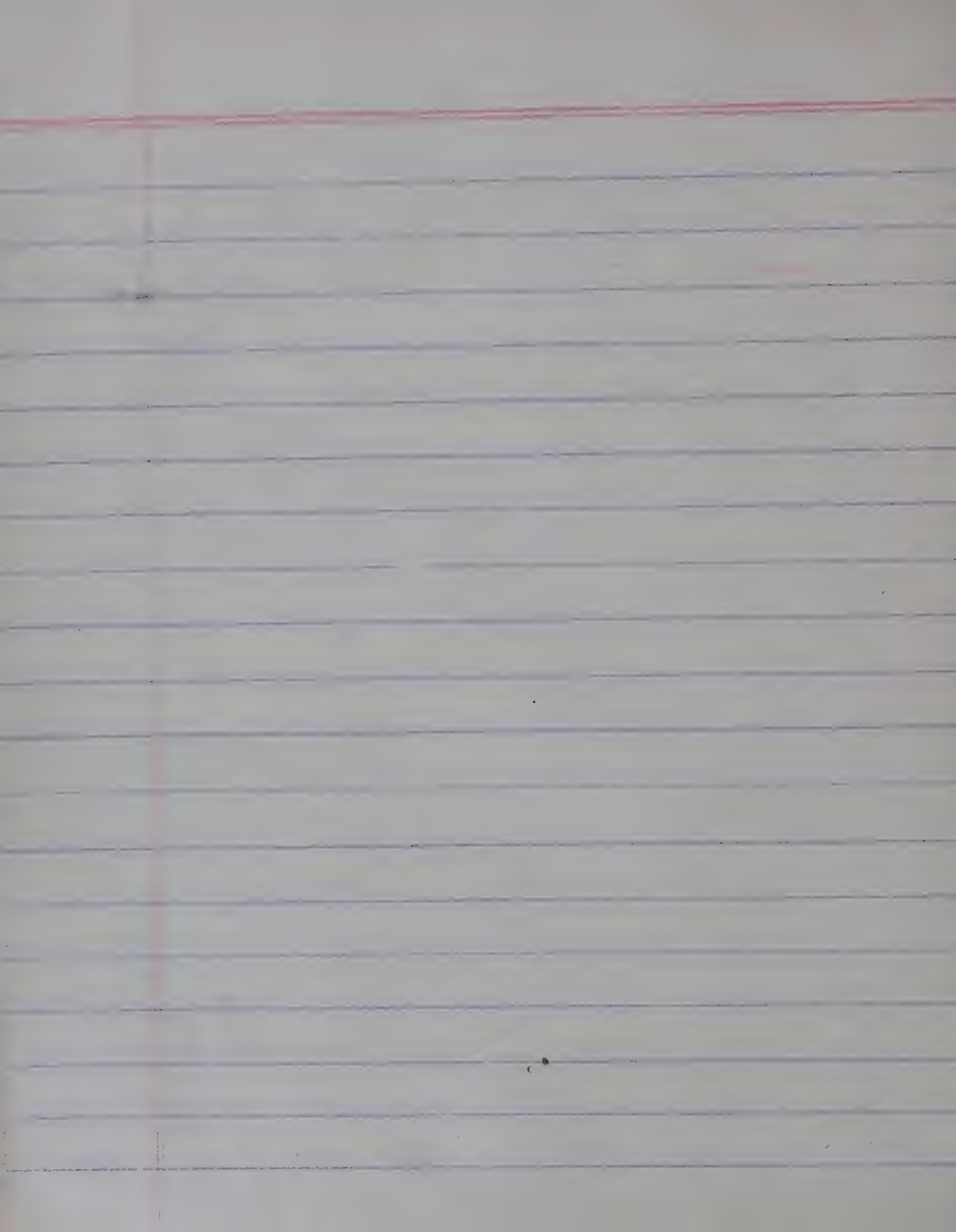
cases towards the poorest of her sons). Bhāsa took
 advantage of this social injustice to the middle
 brother, unwanted by either of the parents. Zhe
 thus the injustice was spotlighted, Yajñavalkya
 the great Smṛiti writer soon afterwards (some time
 in the first century B.C.) removed it entirely out of
 the statute book by cancelling all preferences
 like पुत्रेष्ट (primogeniture - entire paternal estate
 for the eldest) or पुत्रेष्टांश (extra $\frac{1}{20}$ share for eldest)
 and decreed that all the brothers do get an equal
 share of the paternal property. ॥६ सर्वे वा स्युः
समांशिनः - a bit later - विभजेत स्युताः पुत्रोः
हर्षं विवशं श्रेणं समं - after the father's death
 the sons should divide equally the assets
 and the liabilities. This preferential पुत्रेष्ट or
 primogeniture was also common in Rome
 and many other western countries. In the early
 epic period in Ancient India, this was the
 custom. Even now this survives in royal
 families for example where royalty is

inherited by the eldest son alone. The original
 epic story was that Yudhishtira was the eldest
 of the 105 brothers and that Bhima and Duryodhana
 were born on the same day. Many a time, the epics
 reveal Dhritarāstra's anxiety to have his son
 right to the throne, at least in succession to
 Yudhishtira's, established legally. He argues
 aloud, in season and out of season, that his
 son was born a few hours before Bhima. But
 Bhāsa, with a successful stroke of his pen,
 manages to drive away all such anxieties
 fully from Dhritarāstra's mind. According to
 his deviation, Duryodhana alone is the eldest
 even elder to Yudhishtira. He may not actually
 say this out in so many words, but this is clear
 from Bhishma's remark in Pañcharāta I. 37-
ये हो भवान् प्रपत्तिनः वयि ते कुटुम्बे etc, while
 addressing Duryodhana. Vyāsa's Bhishma
 had to find a wonderful explanation for
 his siding Duryodhana inasmuch as he had

eaten of his 'salt' - अर्धस्य पुरुषो दासः दासस्त्वर्थो न
 कस्यचित् । इति सत्यं महाराज तेन वद्धो दासि कोरवे
 (43rd adhyāya, 43rd Sloka in Kumbhakam
 But Bhara's Bhishma could easily ~~take~~ put
 forth the Dharmasāstra excuse - Manus IX.105
 definitely allows the eldest to receive the entire
 patrimony - ज्येष्ठे त्वं नृ गृहीमात् पित्र्यं धनं अशेषं
 शेषाः तमुपजीवेयुः मर्यैव पितरं तया ॥ It was the
 fault really of Yudhishtira and his brothers if
 they chose to refuse the eldest brother's protection
 and go to the forest on their own responsibility. The
 contemporary Jātaka tales, for example reflect
 this social custom. In Cowell V p 326, we read
 a Pāli Sloka which when translated is as follows:

माता पिता च भ्राता च भार्या शालिवाक्यना:
 सर्वे ज्येष्ठस्य ते भाराः त्वं जीहीहि भारत ॥

In other words, mother, father, brother, sister, cousin
 relations - all these are a deadweight to hang
 round the neck of the eldest. Taking his stand
 on this point, Shrutarāstra calls his son the Lord



of 11+7 Akshauhinis, even the seven reinements belonging to the Pandavas - अष्टादशाश्वादिनी. महाराज in the Urukhangs after the 40th Book. Manu had further decreed in IX 213 -

यो येषो विनिकुर्वीत सर्वान् भ्रातृन् यवीयसः
सोऽप्येष्टः स्यादभागाश्च विनियन्तव्यश्चरात्मि
in other words, if the eldest deceived the younger brothers, he would be deprived of these special privileges, the Court should snatch away from him his portions. Bhāṣa echoes this very idea in his Pratimā I. 14 where he paraphrases the word विनिकुर्वीत by its synonym - वञ्चित - न न सत्तु पादिको गैर्वञ्चिताः आतरो मे, where Rama exhibits his eagerness not to deprive his younger brothers of the minimum comforts they must be entitled to daily. To come back to our main point, Duryodhana is the eldest son of the senior brother Dhritarashtra, senior even to Yudhishtira. As such his right to the throne was legally unquestioned,

not understanding this secret, later dramatists like Bhattacharya (and more particularly Ranna in his GADĀYUDDHA) try to enlist our sympathies in Duryodhana's favour, but fail in their attempt. Bhāsa succeeds eminently.

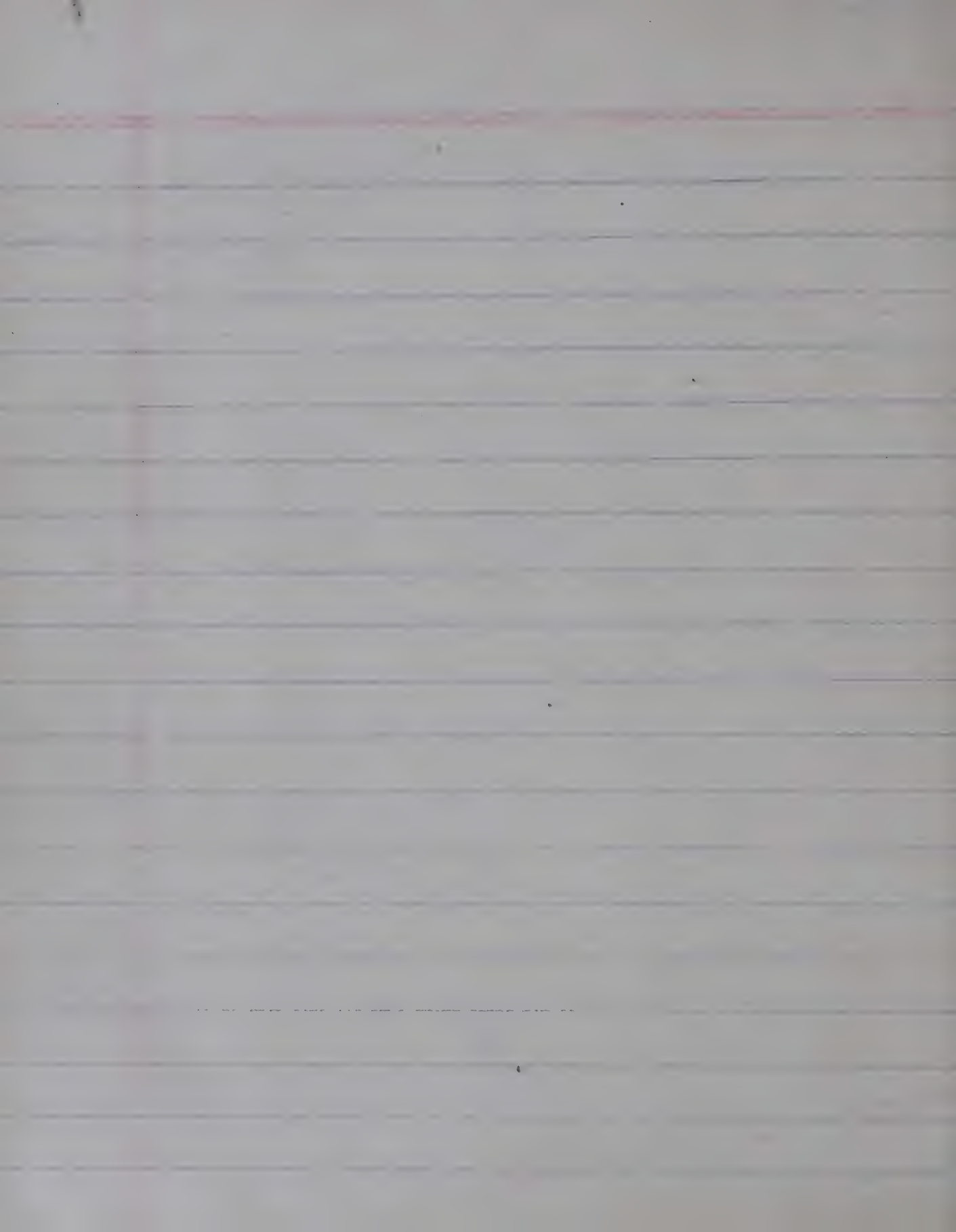
ANUBANDHA.

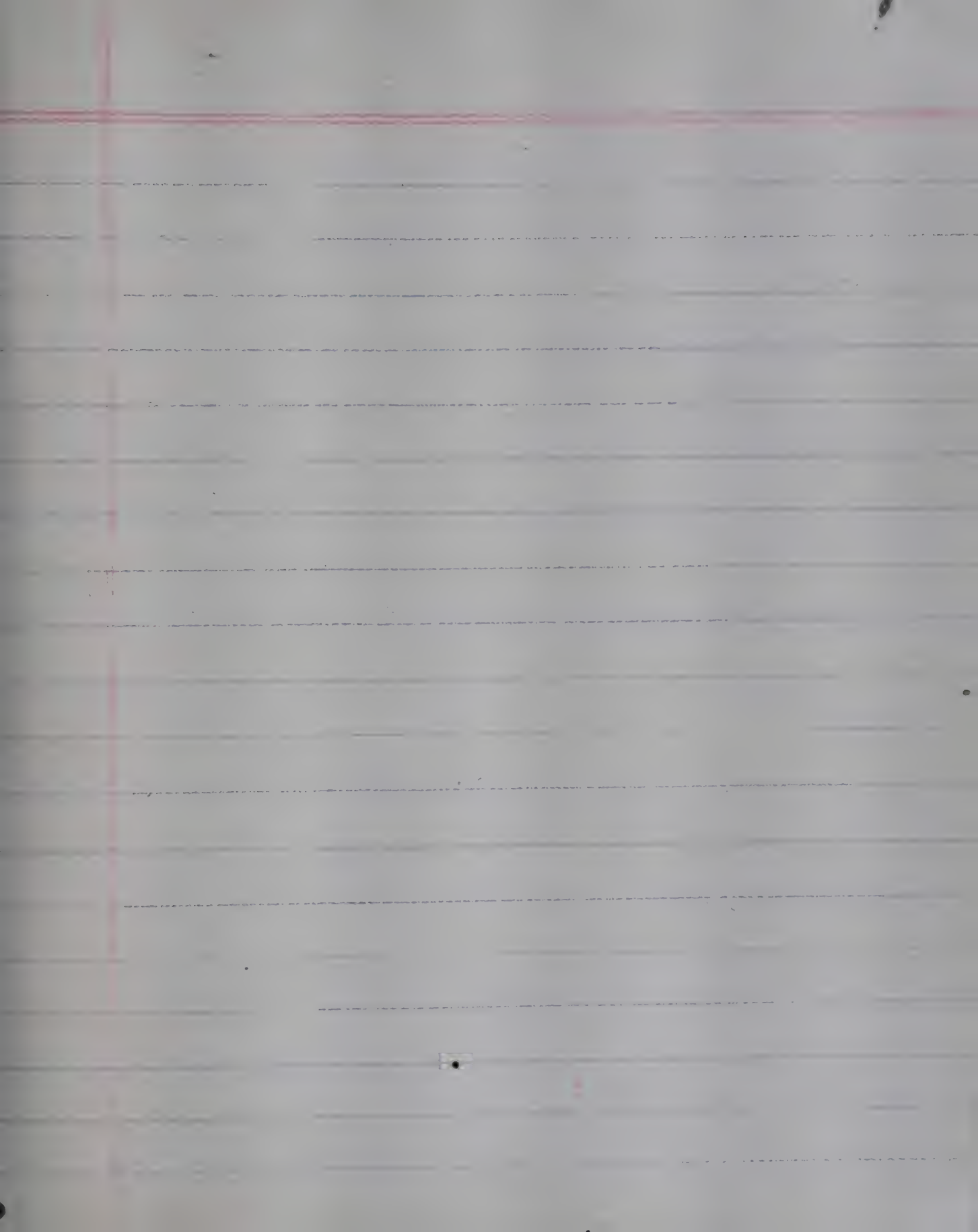
This word refers to the motive prompting the crime such as poverty and the like. Law Dharmasāstrins, with their milk of human kindness, direct the judge to go fully into the motives that drove the culprit on to the crime before awarding punishment.

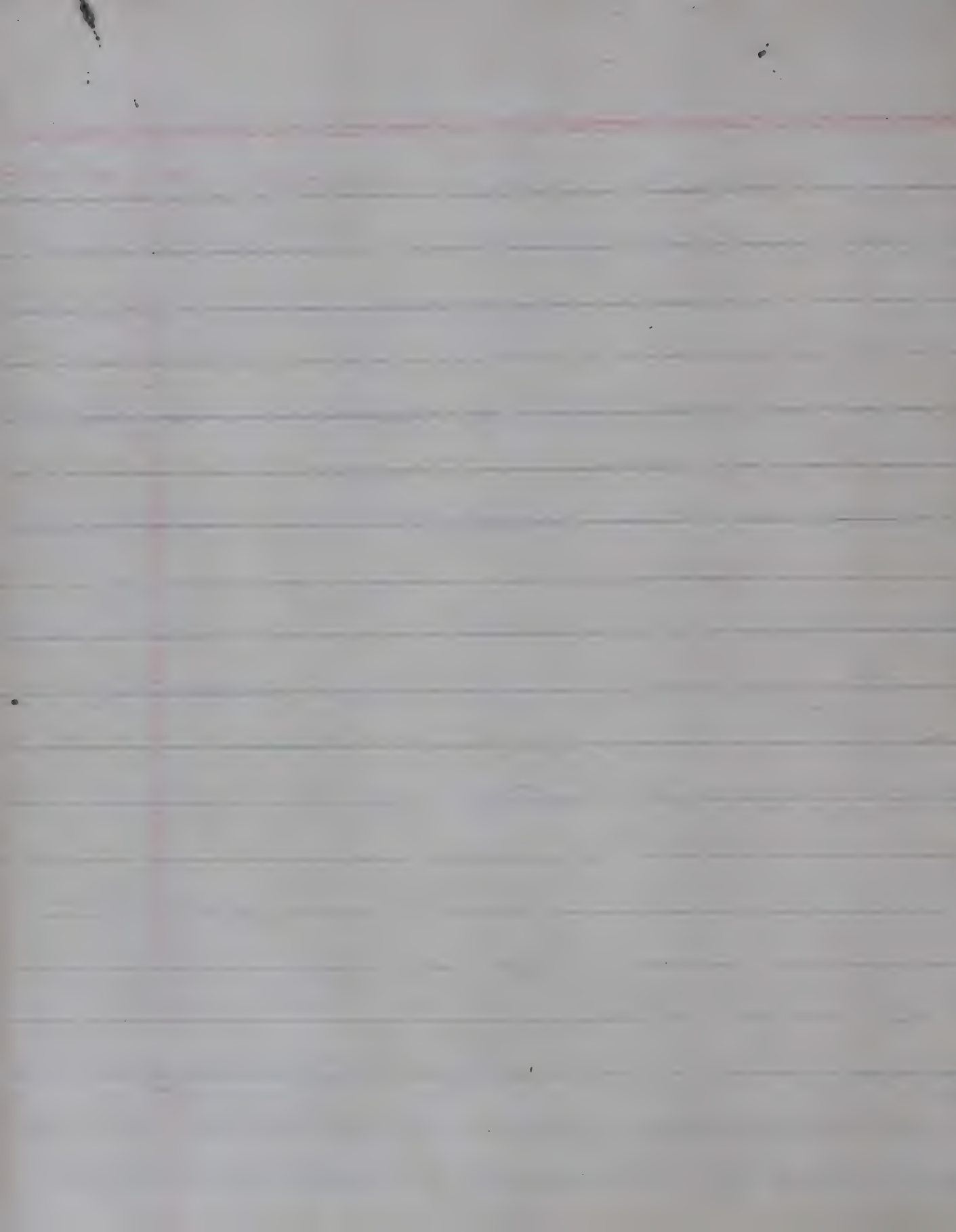
Gautama in the 5th cent B.C. in his Sūtra 8.1.4 - पुरुष इत्यपराधिकं वस्तु विज्ञात्वा दण्डनिर्णयः used this word for the very first time, asking the judge to take due stock of the offender's strength (or capacity to undergo the punishment), the loss resulting from the crime; the judge is even asked to ascertain the actual loss accruing to the offender's family because of the sentence passed on him also. Kautilya carried this idea a bit further when

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he instructs the judge to ascertain the degrees or the
size of the crime, the big or small loss accruing there-
from, the time, place or the atmosphere in which
was committed







Light represents to Bacon all good things
enlightenment of every kind, both mental
and spiritual; truth, virtue, knowledge,
understanding, reason, and even the essence
of God himself, 'the father of illumination
or light'. Light, to him, is clear and unbiassed
judgment, 'dry light', not obscured by mist
and humidity, and it is also the action of
friendship which maketh daylight in the
understanding' Bacon - Advancement of Learning

Vāṛiṣṭha Rāmāyana + Pāṣāṇa - (from Vāṛiṣṭha
 Rāmāyana - a study by Mainkar T. S. M. A. P. K.
 p 47). In III. 24, we have a faint echo of the lamer
 of Kuip Velayana as reported by the Brahmanāchārin
 in the Svapna I. Vāṛiṣṭha's Verse is इह देवि मया भुक्तं
 इहोपितमिह स्थितं । इह सुप्रसिद्धा पीतं इह दत्तमिहाहृतं
 the Vāṛiṣṭha Rāmāyana + Pāṣāṇa. In two places
 VI a 106. 36 + VI b 118. 1, one is reminded of the Meekaka
 the name Madanikā is in all likelihood inspired by
 the famous character in the play. Thus अहं मदनीका
 नाम भार्यासि तव मानद. refers to मदनीका + निर्गुणस्य
 वकस्यास्य गुणं किं ज्ञेयं दृश्यते । यत्प्रावृष्टं स्मर्याति प्रावृष्ट
 प्रावृष्टिर्नि श्रुवन्त. reminds one of Sūdrakak
 तत्किं प्रोचितं भर्तृवधपटहो हा हा हा हा हा वकः । प्रावृष्ट
 प्रावृष्टिर्नि श्रुवन्ति शठधीः क्षारं क्षते प्राक्षिपन् ॥ VI. 18.
 मासिष्ठ. VI b. 120. 14. हेमसाज्वासरसस्योऽग्नौ वातव्याधितोऽसु
 तादेत्पीताम्बरं धत्ते शुभ्रं हरिरीवोद्भवः c. Similar to the
 मंदो जलार्द्रमहिषोदरभृङ्गनीलो विष्णुप्रभारचितपीतपटोत्त
 रीयः । आभासि संहृतवलाकगृहीतशंखः खं केशवोऽपर
 इवाक्रमितुं प्रवृत्तः -

